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THE WORLD PROLETARIAN PARTY OF THE NEW TYPE

(For the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Communist International)

THREE was only one consistently revolutionary party of the proletariat, only one party of the *new type* during the first round of wars and revolutions, and that was the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). And it was just because it differed fundamentally in type from all the parties of the Second International that it was able to gain its great October victory. It was the only monolithic party, permeated with iron discipline which waged a ruthless struggle against opportunism of all kinds, and closely combined the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism with revolutionary practice. It was the only party which subordinated all its tasks to the fundamental task, namely, the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, which built its organization, strategy and tactics accordingly, and also treated the question of the reserves, the allies of the proletariat, the peasant question and the national question in this light. It was the only party which did not bow before spontaneity, and which raised and solved the question of organizing the revolution and of organizing armed insurrection.

The other parties, which participated in the creation of the Third International, or which joined it during the period of the First and Second Congress of the Communist International, were as yet neither mass parties, leading the majority, or at least a considerable part of the working class, nor were they real Bolshevik parties. Those Social-Democratic parties which were of a broader mass character such as the majority of the German Independents, the French Socialists and of the Czech-Slovak Social-Democrats, and which joined the Comintern between the Second and Third Congresses, were still further away from Bolshevism. The same is true of the Italian Socialist Party which decided to join the Communist International and had its representatives at the Second and Third Congresses. This was the principal reason why the treacherous Social-Democracy succeeded in bringing about the defeat of the revolutions in Finland, Germany, Austria, Bavaria, Poland, Hungary and Italy, despite the fact that at that time the objective conditions were very favorable for the victory of the revolution, despite the fact that at that time the toiling masses were armed and were striving spontaneously for the overthrow of capitalism, which had cast them into the vortex of the world slaughter, despite the fact that at that time the proletarian masses were spontaneously striving to establish the power of the Soviets.

When in 1903, the foundations of the Bolshevik Party were laid at the Second Congress of the Social-Democratic Labor Party, it was preceded, in accordance with the plan which Lenin had thought out long before, by the thorough ideological preparation carried on during the period of the old *Iskra* (The Spark), the results of which were to be secured at the Second Congress. When in 1919, the foundations of the world Bolshevik Party, the Third International, were laid, and ideological preparation for this was carried on in the world working class movement before and during the war exclusively by the Bolshevik Party which went against the stream, all the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries which it united, were as yet Bolshevikized only to a small degree, and were immediately confronted with big revolutionary tasks at a time when they were only just beginning to be formed, and still carried a heavy load of social-democratic prejudices and traditions. History did not allow them enough time to become genuinely Bolshevikized before they joined the Comintern. History acutely raised the question of the creation of the Third International, as a result of the bankruptcy of the Second International on August 4, 1914, and it was brought forward without delay by Lenin who developed a struggle on its behalf.

After the October victory, which raised a tremendous revolutionary upsurge throughout the whole world, the creation of the Third International so as to secure revolutionary leadership over the proletariat, became a matter of still greater urgency. The Bolshevikization of the Communist Parties had to be brought about within the framework of the Communist International, inside it and under the leadership of the only Party of the new type, the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

It is not difficult to convince oneself that the principal decisions of the First, Second and Third Congresses of the Communist International where the basic principles of the strategy, tactics and organization of the Communist Parties were formulated, were not only declarations of principles addressed to the masses by the Communist Parties, and directed against the basic tenets of the Social-Democracy. They were also the program and organizational principles formulated by Lenin for the purpose of instructing the Communist Parties themselves and their leading bodies, which at that time, despite all their revolutionary enthusiasm, con-

tinued at every step to manifest an unclear understanding of these principles, and due to their immaturity acted ever and anon in irresponsible moments against these principles.

Lenin's main report to the First Congress of the Communist International was devoted to the question of bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship. The Theses of this report were directed against social-democracy. But even the best Communist Parties which took part in the First Congress—the German and the Polish Communist Parties, had at that time very unclear ideas on this fundamental question. Did not Rosa Luxemburg, who stood at the head of both these parties, the one which had grown out of the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Poland and Lithuania and the "Levitsa" Socialist Party of Poland, and the other from the Spartacus group, speak out very sharply against the basic tactical principles of Bolshevism, shortly before the First Congress, immediately after the October Revolution, and only begin to accede to these principles during the last months of her life? The Second Congress of the Communist International adopted theses on the agrarian question. These theses were also fundamentally directed in principle against the formulation of the agrarian question by social-democracy. But did not the young Communist Parties, the Polish, Hungarian, Italian, Bulgarian, Latvian and others, at that time and even later themselves commit the grossest semi-Menshevist mistakes in connection with this question, which fact contributed in no small degree to the defeat of the revolutions in these respective countries? The same can be said about the Theses of the Second Congress on the national question, the principles of which the majority of the Communist Parties, including the Polish Party, failed to master long after the Second Congress, a fact which was taken advantage of by the members of the Polish Socialist Party and by Pilsudsky.

The October Revolution, which emancipated the peoples of old Russia, gave rise to a tremendous wave of national-liberation wars in the East, in China, India, Indo-China, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and Arabia. The theses on the colonial question, however, which were adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International began to be put into operation only much later in the revolutionary movement in China, and in the other colonial and semi-colonial countries. The Second Congress elaborated theses on parliamentarism. These theses were directed in the first place against the reformist view of social-democracy on parliamentarism. But at the same time, they were also aimed at the "Left" Communists of different parties, who on this question took up the wrong attitude of "anti-parliamentarism in principle", an inheritance of Luxemburgism, or which, as the Hungarian Com-

unist Party did, thought it possible even to fuse with the Social-Democratic Party at the moment of revolution.

When the first period of the revolutionary movement after the war was already consummated to a considerable extent, Lenin put two slogans forward at the Third, and later at the Fourth Congress, the slogan—"to the masses"—and the basic strategical slogan of the Communist International—the winning of the majority of the working class in the struggle against social-democracy, as a necessary prerequisite for the victory of the revolution, and in connection therewith the tactics of the united front were worked out. And these tactics were soon afterward subjected to opportunist distortion by the Brandler and Talheimer leadership in Germany in 1923, when they carried through their Saxon experiment of an "honest" coalition with the "Left" social-democrats. The same was the case in Poland under the Barsky and Kostishevsky leadership, and in the same year in Bulgaria, at the time when the Stambulsky government was overthrown and when our Bulgarian Party took up the opportunist position of "neutrality" towards the fascist coup d'état of Tsankov. When the September uprising, led by the Party, took place, it was not in a position to overthrow him. These tactics have always led to serious defeat.

Lenin created the Third International and formulated its fundamental principles, which were the continuation of the ideas developed by Marx and Engels, but distorted during the epoch of the Second International, and which he resuscitated and developed further, from the very outset of his political activity. They were ideas which were the generalization of the total experience of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and particularly and specifically of the very rich experience of the Party of Bolsheviks. But it required a whole decade of the existence of the Communist International for the majority of its sections to master these principles. On the whole, the path of the Communist International has been a difficult one, a more difficult one than the path of the Bolsheviks to power in old Russia, despite the fact that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been illuminating this path for the other sections of the Communist International by its great victories.

The path of the Communist International, as a whole, has been more difficult than the path of the Russian Bolsheviks to power because the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic agents in the advanced capitalist countries have been far stronger, even during the period of the general crisis of capitalism, than the bourgeoisie and Menshevism were in pre-October Russia. This has been the case further because the roots of reformism in these countries are much deeper than they were in Russia, and because

social-democratic traditions have manifested a considerable vitality in the very ranks of the Communist Parties of the advanced capitalist countries, which grew out of social-democracy. This refers not only to the Communist Parties, which sprang up on the basis of the split of the old Social-Democratic Parties, with the majority of these parties joining the Comintern, as was the case in the French, Czechoslovakian, Italian and other Communist Parties, but also to those which originated from the pre-war left-radical trend of social-democracy and which had in the German and Polish Communist Parties to overcome the traditions of Luxemburgism inherited from the past, or "tesniachestvo" in the Bulgarian Party. The only difference between them was that the latter, the German, Polish and Bulgarian Parties, overcame their left-radical traditions in heavy battles of principles, which hardened them ideologically, while the former overcame their centrist traditions without any great ideological combats, more empirically and therefore more incompletely.

The position of the Communist Parties of the East was quite different. They were free from any social-democratic inheritance. This gave them certain advantages as compared with the Western parties in mastering Leninism. But in their case this very fact created another additional difficulty. They began to master Leninism, without any preliminary, if only elementary, Marxist schooling (the Chinese Communist Party had no Marxist traditions whatever, while Japanese "Marxism" of the "nineties" was, as a matter of fact, an eclectic mixture of petty bourgeois socialism with peaceful non-resisting anarchism), whereas in Russia prior to the appearance of Bolshevism, advanced thought was painfully working its way for half a century towards Marxism and finally reached it.

The path of the Bolshevization of the Communist Parties of the West and East was very difficult. It was therefore purchased sometimes at the cost of sharp factional struggle and of deep party crises when sharp turns were made, resulting each time in whole bunches of former "intellectual" leaders and their followers leaving the Communist Parties, becoming renegades, and returning to the bosom of social-democracy.

Let us briefly call to mind this sharp factional struggle and these crises. In Germany in 1919 the Party expelled the left sectarians, the future "national-Bolsheviks"—Wolfheim and Laufenberg, in 1921—the rights, Levi and Frisland. In 1923 the Party suffered defeat owing to the right-opportunist leadership of Brandler and Talheimer, who were dismissed from the leadership after this defeat. Then the ultra-lefts (the group of Kersh, Katz and Sholem as well as the Ruth Fischer-Maslov group) were expelled from the Party. And finally the last

crisis, in 1927, was due to the revolt of the Rights and the conciliators against Thaelmann's leadership. In the Polish Communist Party in 1924, the right-opportunist Barsky-Kostishevsky leadership was dismissed, in 1925 similar action was taken against the "left"-sectarian, Trotskyist, Domsky group, and as a result of a long and severe factional struggle, the Kostishevsky-Barsky group was finally removed from the leadership in 1929. The first crisis in the Chinese Communist Party was the result of the opportunist leadership of Chen-Du-Suh, and Tan-Pin Sian, who were to a considerable degree responsible for the defeat of the Chinese revolution in 1927. Then the second heavy crisis was caused by the "Left" putchist tactics of Tsu-Tsu-Bo at the end of 1927 and in the beginning of 1928. Finally, the last crisis was due to the semi-Trotskyist line of Li-Li-Sian. In the Swedish Communist Party it was Heglund, who first broke away from the Party, and later the Party was split by Chilbum. The French Party expelled Frossard, then Souvarin, then the Monat-Rossmar group, and later the Loriot-Pas group, then the Train and Susanne Geraud Trotskyist group, and finally the "Left" sectarian Verbat-Sailor leadership was removed. The Czechoslovakian Party first expelled the "Right" Bubnik group and removed the "historical right" from the leadership. Then the Trotskyist group of Michaelitz and that of Ilek were expelled, and later a split was effected in the red trade unions by the trade union leader Heiss. In the U.S.A. a protracted Party crisis was liquidated by the expulsion of Lovestone and Pepper from the Party, etc., etc.

Social-democracy, which dragged its existence without a crisis for quite a while, insofar as its task of serving the ruling bourgeoisie is immeasurably easier than the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie, exulted at this bitter internal struggle which sometimes resulted in crises within the sections of the Communist International. But these crises, some of which temporarily weakened the Communist Parties and reduced their membership, resulted in the long run in purging them from opportunism, in giving them new life and ensuring their consolidation and rapid growth. That the sections of the Comintern in capitalist countries broke their way through to the real Bolshevik path and consolidated their leadership by the first years of the world economic crisis, was due to several causes. It was due, firstly, to the revolutionary experience accumulated by the Communist Parties, sometimes in bitter struggles against the bourgeoisie which cost them tremendous sacrifices, and to the leadership of the Communist International headed at first by the genius, Lenin, and after his death guided by the genius of Stalin, to the instructions, open letters and the continuous operative leadership of the Executive Committee of

the Communist International. It was due further to the direct interference of Comrade Stalin, who came to the assistance of the Parties at every difficult moment, at every sharp turn, and finally and particularly it was due to the mighty victories gained by the leading Party of the Communist International—the C.P.S.U. It is no accident that the October Revolution was a decisive factor in the birth of the Communist International. Nor is it an accident that in the majority of Communist Parties, the consolidation of their leadership took place exactly at the time when the C.P.S.U., under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, first smashed the Trotskyists and then the right opportunists, and brought the U.S.S.R. to the year of great change, the year 1929. This was the year when it became definitely clear that the decisive victory, now become a fact, had been won over the most difficult problem facing the socialist revolution, namely, the socialist reconstruction of the peasantry. It was the time when the mass influx of middle peasants to the collective farms began.

The leadership of the Communist Party of Germany headed by Comrade Thaelmann, was consolidated at the Essen Congress in 1927 on the initiative and with the support of the E.C.C.I. After this, the Rights and the conciliators made another attempt in 1928 to disrupt Comrade Thaelmann's leadership, in connection with the Wittorf affair. This attempt, however, encountered a suitable rebuff when the E.C.C.I. adopted a resolution on the Wittorf affair on October 6, 1928. In December, 1928, Comrade Stalin made a speech at the presidium of the E.C.C.I. where he gave a Bolshevik estimate of the offensive of the Right opportunists in Germany. On December 19, 1928, the E.C.C.I. addressed an open letter to the Communist Party of Germany, headed, "Against the Right Danger". Operating on this support of the E.C.C.I. and of Comrade Stalin, the Communist Party of Germany smashed the Right opportunists to bits, the result being that the leadership of the German Communist Party was firmly consolidated in 1928.

For the Communist Party of Poland, the years 1923-1929 were years taken up with the inner-Party struggle against the Right opportunists and the ultra-Left deviations. In 1929 the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland, supported by the E.C.C.I., dismissed the bankrupt group of Right leaders (Kostisheva, Barsky, Bartashevich and Stefansky). In the interval between the Sixth Plenum and the Fifth Party Congress, the Party rallied around the new leadership, headed by Comrade Lensky, and at its Fifth Congress in 1930, the Polish Communist Party showed itself to be a consolidated and monolithic party.

The Communist Party of China consolidated in

1928 at its Sixth Congress, which wholly and completely adopted the Leninist principles contained in the decisions of the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Plenums of the E.C.C.I. The Sixth Congress summed up the experiences of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, it recognized the defeat of the Chinese revolution as a temporary affair, gave the revolutionary perspective of a new revolutionary upsurge in China, and condemned all opportunist deviations in the Chinese Communist Party. When, however, in 1930, the new revolutionary upsurge in China predicted by the Communist International took place, a new kind of opportunism, semi-Trotskyism in the shape of Liliianism, raised its head. But in the autumn of 1930 already a letter of the E.C.C.I. compelled Li-Li-Sian to capitulate, and from that time, beginning with the Fourth Plenum of the Chinese Communist Party, its leadership has become firmly consolidated.

The Bolshevization of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia necessitated long and persistent efforts on the part of the E.C.C.I., and especially on the part of Comrade Stalin, when the leadership of the "historical right" was liquidated. It was consolidated in 1929 under the leadership of Comrade Gotwald after the renegade Geiss and his followers had broken away, when they brought about a putsch in the International General Trade Union, in connection with the North Bohemian weavers' strike, which was the first experience of the practical application of the revolutionary line of the Party and of the red trade unions to the sphere of economic struggles. It became still further consolidated after the expulsion of the renegade Guttman, although social-democratic traditions have still not been rooted out of certain links of the Party.

The Communist Party of the U.S.A., which was for years rent asunder by factional struggle, was consolidated at the end of 1929 following the vigorous interference of the E.C.C.I. and of Comrade Stalin, after the Lovestone group had been expelled from the Party.

After Hoglund broke away, the Communist Party of Sweden grew numerically for a number of years, but this external well-being covered up the strong growth of Right opportunism in the Party, which resulted in a Party crisis in 1929.

The Right opportunists, Chilburn and Samuelson, who were attacked by the Communist International, secretly prepared the split in the Party before their opportunist errors were discussed among the broad Party masses, and at the last moment, these renegades did not scruple to resort to police aid for the purpose of seizing the Central Party newspaper and the premises of the Central Committee. This split reduced the membership of the Party nearly by half,

but as a result the Party has become sound and strengthened.

The leadership of the Communist Party of France which passed through a whole number of changes of the Party leadership was consolidated after the removal of the "Left" sectarian Barbet group which included Sailor who was expelled from the Party as a conscious agent of the class enemy.

The leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain, headed by Comrade Pollitt, was consolidated at the Leeds Party Congress in 1929, which removed the old Right-wing leadership.

What was it that expressed the consolidation of the Communist Parties and their leadership during the period of 1928, 1929 and 1930? It was expressed in "implicit allegiance to the Leninist line of the Communist International", to use the formulation correctly given by the Fourth Plenum of the C. C. of C. P. of China. It would be wrong, however, to imagine that the consolidation of the Parties was manifested merely in the fact that the *Central leadership* of the respective Parties expressed their implicit allegiance to the Leninist line of the Comintern. During this period, such implicit devotion to the line of the Comintern became characteristic for the broadest Party masses of the majority of the sections of the Comintern. A number of facts furnish eloquent proof of this. When Lovestone gained a majority at the Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. by falsely covering himself with the flag of the Comintern, Comrade Stalin declared in the American Commission of the E.C.C.I. that Lovestone owed this majority solely to the fact that he had covered himself with the name of the Comintern, and that as soon as the Party found out the fraud he had practiced on it, it would unanimously turn away from him. Comrade Stalin's prediction soon came true. As soon as the Party leader, Lovestone, was expelled from the Party at the initiative of the Comintern, this person who had only recently been leading the majority of the Congress, was unable to carry anybody with him except a negligible few. The same was repeated in the Spanish Party when its old leaders, Bulehos, Adame and Trillia were expelled from its ranks. The same thing happened in Czechoslovakia, when the renegade Guttman, who was exposed by the Comintern, was expelled from the Party. Despite the fact that the Communist Party of Germany is under the blows of unprecedented fascist terror, the opposition of the type of Remmele and Neumann was unable to any degree to shake the unity of the Party.

These significant facts prove that the Communist International has become a monolithic world Party, a *united world Party of the new type*, not only in principle, but also in practice. What Marx had been striving for in creating the First International, has

at last become an accomplished fact in the Third International which, following the death of Lenin, has been led by Comrade Stalin.

* * * * *

The consolidation of the sections of the Comintern and the transformation of the Comintern into a really monolithic world Party of a new type, were the result of the fact that the Party masses were becoming and have become convinced, from experience gained in struggle, of the correctness of the general line of the Comintern. This was first and foremost the result of the great victories achieved by the leading Party of the Comintern in the country constructing socialism. On the other hand, the very fact of the consolidation of the sections of the Comintern in capitalist countries was a guarantee for their future victories, and we can see already, how, from the very moment this consolidation began, the successes of the Parties also began to grow and the political influence of the Parties upon the broadest masses began to rise rapidly.

From the moment that the German Communist Party became consolidated under Thaelmann's leadership, it developed a tremendous united front movement against fascism, and passed over to the independent organization of economic struggles. By 1932, as proved on two occasions in the elections that year, the Communist Party of Germany had won one position after another from the social-democracy and called a halt to the tempestuous growth of fascism (which lost 2,000,000 votes that year), and gained 6,000,000 votes to our side at the second elections of 1932. It was just this tempestuous growth of the influence of the German Communist Party that spurred the German bourgeoisie to stake its last card and to call Hitler to power, with a view to preventing the advent of the ripening proletarian revolution. And it succeeded in this due to the treachery of the social-democracy and of the leaders of the reformist trade unions, who on two occasions rejected the proposal of the Communist Party to respond to the fascist offensive by a general strike. Hitler's advent to power resulted in a terror against the working class of Germany and its vanguard the Communist Party unprecedented in history. But our heroic Party did not allow themselves to be smashed up by Hitler's bandits. Despite their bragging at the time they rose to power, the fascist leaders are now compelled, after a year of open dictatorship, to admit publicly, that the "Communist danger", or to be more exact, the danger of Communist revolution, is neither eliminated, nor will it be eliminated in Germany in the nearest future. The head of the Secret Police, Diehls, was himself compelled to admit to the representatives of the foreign press in Berlin: "It is simply surprising

how heroically and with what great self-sacrifice the German Communists continue their illegal work. The romanticism of their activity may only be compared with the romanticism of the Russian revolutionaries in tsarist times. I never imagined that our German Communists would be capable of such like things". For the first time in history, we see in Germany an example of how a revolutionary Party, under the blows of such unprecedented terror, faced with such barbarian methods of repression as are applied by the government, has contrived to retain 100,000 members in its ranks, and has not only not suspended its struggle for one moment, but is increasing its power of attraction and influence over the working class, and succeeded in stirring up a new revolutionary upsurge under circumstances of unrelenting repression.

The Communist Party of Poland which was rent asunder by factional struggle for a number of years, after the consolidation of its leadership with Comrade Lensky at its head, had moved forward to the front ranks of the Comintern before the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and has become one of the best and strongest Parties of the Comintern. Notwithstanding the terror of Pilsudsky's regime, it has increased its membership, almost threefold, since the times of factional struggles, bringing it to 18,000, without including the Young Communist League. In recent years it has been at the head of the overwhelming majority of the economic strikes of the workers, which were turned time and again into revolutionary strikes. It developed activity among the peasants and frequently organized street demonstrations in which the peasants participated alongside of the workers, it accumulated a tremendous experience in combining political fights with the economic ones. As its next task, it intends to organize a general strike in the country, while developing political strikes.

The greatest successes during the period under review were achieved by the Chinese Communist Party. The number of members of the Chinese Communist Party in 1920 amounted to 180,000; over 200,000 in 1931, about 300,000 in 1932 and over 410,600 in 1933. The Chinese Red Army has achieved great victories. The Canton Commune did not exist in vain, its sparks kindled the flame of the Soviet revolution. The Chinese Soviets occupy one-quarter of China proper, and the valiant Chinese Red Army, after repulsing five campaigns of Chiang Kai-Shek is now repulsing the most difficult, the sixth, or to be more exact, the seventh campaign, though the decisive battles of this campaign are still ahead. The Chinese Communist Party has also developed an extensive struggle against the Japanese imperialists and against the Kuomintang.

The comparatively small, but heroic Communist

Party of Japan which is unconditionally loyal to the Comintern, is placed in exceptionally difficult conditions of government terror, and of the debauch of chauvinist passions, and while war is on has developed tremendous activity, and right from the beginning of the war has boldly spread the Bolshevik slogans of defeat of one's own country in imperialist war. It is penetrating the war enterprises and the army, and is not held up by the fact that the Japanese government is snatching thousands of people from its ranks. For the first nine months of 1933 alone, 1,800 members of the Communist Party of Japan and sympathizers, 616 members of the Young Communist League and sympathizers, 2,600 members of illegal revolutionary trade unions were arrested. The Communist Party has responded to this persecution by demonstrations under the slogans "Release the Communists", "Defend the U.S.S.R." The Japanese Communist Party organized mass demonstrations of the proletariat against the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and against the war in Manchuria, Kezhe and North China.

The anti-war struggle penetrated the factories and mills, and was linked up with the economic struggles of the workers. The Party is developing the struggle against collections for war purposes, and is linking this up with the demand for wage increases. Its agitation is also penetrating the countryside where the Party is organizing peasant demonstrations, which end in bloody conflicts with the police. The Party is carrying on work not only among the workers and poorest peasantry but also among the petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, and is winning the sympathy of the latter.

Our Bulgarian Party, which in 1923 as a result of the gross opportunist mistake of its leadership, preserved "neutrality" when the Tsankov coup d'état took place and which was subjected to unheard of destruction from the fascist bandits as a result of Tsankov's victory and following the September uprising, was not only revived after its political line had been put right by the Comintern, but also succeeded in winning the majority of the working class in Bulgaria, and to develop work among the peasantry and in the army. An example of the kind of cadres which this Party has hammered out in struggle is to be seen in Comrade Dimitrov who turned the attention of the whole world on himself by his heroic behavior at the trial arranged by the German fascist incendiaries.

Our Spanish Party, when under the leadership of Bulegos, Adame and Trillia, displayed the completest failure to understand the anti-feudal bourgeois-democratic character of the revolution begun in Spain, when in its first stage. In general it displayed sectarian narrowness, but after the Comintern helped it to correct its line and to remove the old

leadership of the Party, it gained new strength and its membership grew, and developed from a small Party which numbered several hundreds in 1931 to a Party embracing 30,000 members this year. The Party is now playing an active part in all the actions undertaken by the proletariat and is organizing a revolutionary struggle in the village where the peasants are seizing the land and the inventory of the landowners. It was due to its growing influence that at the last parliamentary elections it succeeded in receiving 400,000 votes and in bringing its candidates to Parliament for the first time. It has succeeded in independently organizing and leading a strike of 200,000 workers. At the present moment, on the eve of decisive struggles following the exposure of the monarchist plot and the declaration of martial law in Spain our Party is calling on the masses to set up committees in the factories, as a practical step to the preparation of the direct struggle for power, the proclamation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the formation of a Workers' and Peasants' Government. One detachment of workers after another joined up with the 100,000 strikers when the Party issued the call.

Our English Communist Party lagged behind for a long while. It has now succeeded in developing mass work on a big scale and in organizing a large mass movement on the basis of the tactics of the united front. In response to the government's fascist Unemployment Bill, it carried through an excellent campaign which ended successfully in the convocation of the National United Front Congress in London, supported by the Hunger March to London, the result being a considerable increase of the influence of the Communist Party among the unemployed and Labor Party workers.

Our Communist Party of France, which was systematically losing its members and the readers of its newspapers due to the sectarian leadership of Barbet, has succeeded in recent years in developing a number of successful campaigns against the war in Morocco, in connection with the Gorgulov trial, against imperialist war and against fascism. It was precisely this activity that recently—on February 9—enabled the Party, when the fascists in France made their appearance in the streets more or less unexpectedly for the Party, to mobilize tremendous anti-fascist demonstrations of the workers in Paris and in a number of other cities. In Paris the demonstrations were accompanied by barricade fights, recalling the days of the Commune. And our Party succeeded in this, despite the sabotage of the Socialist Party, which covered itself up by proclaiming a general strike for the 12th of February. If our Party succeeded in rapidly gaining the streets from the fascists, who had seized them on the 6th, and organized a powerful counter-attack of the proletariat, it was

due not only to the hatred which Hitler's regime has bred in the French proletariat, but also to the fact that our Communist Party had previously conducted a great anti-fascist campaign and did not allow the French Socialists to convert the spontaneous outburst of the workers against Hitler's fascism into a chauvinist movement against Germany, by fighting systematically against the growth of the elements of fascism in its own country. Our French Communist Party, even after the consolidation of its leadership, for instance in the spring of 1933, committed errors when organizing the united front. But as distinct from previous occasions, our French Communist Party has now rapidly rectified its mistakes and is conducting a line which is in the main correct, manifesting "an implicit allegiance to the Leninist line of the Comintern". Hence its latest successes.

Our small Austrian Communist Party during the days of the armed uprising in Austria behaved heroically and carried through a correct line. It was the first, even before the Linz fights, to call the workers to a general strike and to the arming of the proletariat. It fought bravely in a number of districts in Vienna and fought everywhere along with the Schutzbund. It was the only Party to issue in time the correct slogan of the passing over from defence to attack, and the demonstration it organized issued the slogan of organization of the Soviets. And it is not its fault, that due to the smallness of its membership and to the fact that the leadership of the working class of Austria has been the monopoly of Austrian Social-Democracy, until recently, that the Communist Party did not succeed in overcoming the remnants of social-democratic traditions among the Austrian proletarians who fought with arms in their hands, and did not succeed in organizing a real Bolshevik uprising. The Austrian proletarians, however, who took part in the uprising and fought shoulder to shoulder with the Austrian Communists correctly estimated the difference between the valiant behavior of the Communist Party and the disgraceful conduct of their social-democratic leaders. For the latter ceded one position after another to the fascists, then at the last moment they vainly endeavored to come to an agreement with them, after which they tried to keep the workers back from fighting by sanctioning the general strike as a peaceful strike at a time when the strike had actually begun and was becoming transformed into an armed struggle. And on top of all this, they fled to save their skins. The fact that the social-democratic workers began to join the Communist Party in groups at a time when the fascist punitive terror was in full swing, shows that the Austrian proletarians have mastered this difference very well.

Great successes have been achieved by the sections

of the Communist International in recent years. But it was the leading section of the Comintern — the C.P.S.U.—which attained the greatest successes, successes which are of world historical importance. Under the leadership of its great leader, Comrade Stalin, the C.P.S.U. succeeded in carrying through the heroic Five-Year Plan in four years, was able to successfully pass over the most difficult stage of the proletarian revolution—in finally consolidating the victory of socialism in the village, thus laying a firm foundation for socialism in the country. It thereby proved in reality that the slogan bequeathed by Lenin, and for which Stalin fought for years against the Trotskyists and Right opportunists, the slogan of the possibility of building of socialism in a single country was not only correct, but has in the main been carried into life, thus opening to Soviet power the path to the construction of a classless society during the period of the next Five-Year Plan.

* * * * *

The world is now closely approaching the second round of revolutions and wars. The vanguard struggles of the second round have already begun.

The prognosis made by Comrade Stalin as early as December, 1927, to the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that "from stabilization itself the deepest and acutest crisis of world capitalism grows up", and later to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, that the third period "leads inevitably through the further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization to the further shattering of capitalist stabilization"—was fully justified by 1929, when the world economic crisis broke out. And the theses of the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., which spoke of the "growth of the new upsurge of the revolutionary workers' movement" after the appearance of the first symptom of the storm (the Wedding and Neuköln barricades in Berlin), were also justified. Let us call to mind the setting up in China of a number of Soviet Districts by the Chinese Communists in 1930. Then the barricade fights of Hamburg, one million demonstrators in the U.S.A., the seizure of Sholapore in India by insurgents. Let us call to mind the fall of the fascist dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, and then the beginning of the revolution in Spain in 1931, followed by the uprising in Chili and the mutiny in the British Navy in the same year. Let us recall the general strike in Poland in 1932, and then how in the same year the German Communist Party gained first 5,000,000 votes and later 6,000,000 votes at the elections, and finally the victory of Soviet revolution over a considerable territory of China.

The prognoses made at the Twelfth and Thir-

teenth Plenums of the E.C.C.I. concerning the "end of capitalist stabilization" and the "transition to a new round of revolutions and wars". And that "the present situation is fraught with sudden outbursts and steep turnings of events", that "the world is already closely approaching the new round of revolutions and wars", that "a turn may come any moment, which will signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis"—have all been justified. The words of Comrade Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. that "the idea of taking capitalism by storm is maturing in the consciousness of the masses" have become justified.

We will not cite here the numerous facts which serve to corroborate these statements. It will suffice to mention the recent events in France and Austria.

The uprising of Austrian proletarians represents a vanguard fight of the second round of revolutions. In view of all this the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. had every foundation for putting forward the slogan of Soviet power as the main slogan at the present period.

This slogan acquired tremendous and fiery significance during the first round of wars and revolutions, after the October victory. Today, "the masses of the people are not yet ripe to undertake the storming of capitalism" (Stalin), but it is true to say that today "the idea of storming capitalism is ripening in the consciousness of the masses" (Stalin) and a turn may come about at any moment when a revolutionary crisis will be at hand, and when the slogan will draw millions of proletarians in capitalist countries into the fight, proletarians who are now contemplating with pride and hope the great things which are being done in the country which is building up socialism.

The world revolutionary crisis is maturing, and if a comparison is now made between the power of the Comintern at present and the power it possessed during the first round of wars and revolutions, at the time of its first two congresses, then it will be obvious that these two quantities are not commensurate. But does it all mean that we have to be satisfied with the present position of the Comintern? Not by any means. It is precisely now that we must get the Bolshevik rule firmly fixed in our heads, namely "*not to be carried away by the successes achieved*". Comrade Stalin thought it necessary to remind the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. of this even after the world historic successes it has achieved. We must firmly bear in mind that if the Communists have learned a great deal during the past fifteen years of heroic struggle against the bourgeoisie, so did the bourgeoisie learn its lessons from the events of those stormy years, and it is feverishly making preparations for the oncoming second round of revolutions and wars, and enhancing fascist terror everywhere.

We must say to ourselves with Bolshevik candidness that the impending fights will be very difficult and that in order to ensure the success of these fights we must liquidate our backwardness in a number of stages of our work, where we are still greatly lagging behind.

Our Parties are at present absolutely devoted to the Leninist line of the Comintern. This is undoubtedly the foremost and most important prerequisite for victory, but this is not sufficient to ensure the victory. It is not sufficient to have a correct line, to build up a correct strategic line and to indicate correct tactics. This in the main has been achieved, though in the sphere of tactics our Parties or Party organizations still continue at times to commit grievous mistakes, which the Comintern or the Party leaderships have to rectify as they go along. But the main thing which our Communist Parties are still lacking is the skill to consolidate their growing influence organizationally. Nor do they know how to bring our political estimates, our slogans and our decisions to the broadest masses, to the millions. Our sections in the capitalist countries have still not learned this art.

The first and greatest weakness of our Parties lies in the fact that they have not yet learned to penetrate the places where our enemies have entrenched themselves, and there their strongest positions are located. Nor have they learned to penetrate the large scale enterprises which are surrounded by triple wire entanglements, and the reformist and fascist trade unions, and in general into such mass organizations which are now under the leadership of the social-democrats, or under the leadership and control of the fascists. From the very beginning of the third post-war period and beginning with the Eleventh Plenum in 1928, which issued the slogan of "Class Against Class", the Plenums of the E.C.C.I. and the Russian Delegation to the E.C.C.I. at the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., have insistently brought forward the question of the need for passing from methods primarily of propaganda and agitation to the independent organization of the partial economic and political mass struggles on the basis of tactics of the united front. But it is very difficult to translate these directives into life. Large scale movements in this respect first took place in a number of Parties (the German, Polish and Czechoslovakian) only on the eve of the Twelfth Plenum. The basic cause of this lag behind is the weakness of our Parties in the big enterprises and reformist unions. The winning of these positions is no easy matter. It demands the ability to combine a certain camouflage in face of the class enemy with the energetic recruiting of

the supporters of Communism. But it is facilitated now by the crisis which the social-democracy is undergoing, and by the hatred against the fascist regime of terror, hunger and preparations for the war which have accumulated everywhere among the masses.

Our second weakness is that we have not as yet learned in the capitalist countries to speak the language which is understood by the millions, as the Bolsheviks knew how to do on the eve of their advent to power, whereas the fascists have become past masters in the art of their shameless demagogic.

Our third weakness lies in the fact that in the countries where open fascist dictatorship has not been established, our Parties fail to combine sufficiently their legal activity with illegal work and with the building up of an illegal apparatus, whereas the position is such that though they may work legally or semi-legally today attempts will be made in the nearest future to drive them underground.

Our fourth weakness is the inadequate preparations for the rapidly approaching war. There is no doubt whatsoever, that a great deal more is now being done in this line and far better, as compared with the eve of the war of 1914. Nevertheless, it is absolutely inadequate. Our Japanese Communist Party is conducting excellent anti-war work in all the war enterprises and in the army. So did our French Communist Party achieve great successes in its activity in the army, but this activity must be increased tenfold even in these Parties. The attention of all our Parties must be drawn to the experience of the heroic struggle of Austrian insurgents who with few exceptions failed to introduce disintegration into the hired army, and still less so in the Heimwher, during the five days of the insurrection, due to a considerable extent to the incorrect general political tactics of the insurgents.

Lastly, now, when the slogan of Soviet power has become the chief slogan of the Comintern and when steep turns and unexpected movements may be expected any day, our Parties must assiduously study the lessons of all preceding insurrections and on the basis of these lessons teach the masses the art of insurrection.

History is now advancing with seven-league boots. The leading Party of the Comintern — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — has proven by experience what tempestuous tempo can and should be developed in such circumstances, so as not to be caught unprepared. When the other sections of the Comintern learn from the C.P.S.U. how to develop a similar tempo in their revolutionary activity, the victory over dying capitalism in the impending fights will be assured.

FIFTEEN YEARS OF THE COMINTERN

By O. PIATNITSKY

"The victory of the revolution never comes of itself. It has to be prepared and won. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare and win it." (Stalin—Report at 17th Congress of C.P.S.U.)

I. BASIC ACHIEVEMENT OF THE C.I.

THE Communist International was founded in the period of the first round of revolutions and wars, at the very height of the civil war in Soviet Russia, at the time of the German and Austrian revolutions and of the big revolutionary struggles in other capitalist countries and colonies.

The Communist International was formed on the ruins of the bankrupt Second International. The Communist Parties in several countries were only beginning to take shape (C.P.G., Spartak, C.P. Austria, etc.). The Left radical Parties—the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania and the Bulgarian Tesniaki entered the Comintern in a body and participated in its foundation. Under the pressure of the working masses and of their own members, the Social-Democratic Parties in some countries (France, Czechoslovakia, Germany, the Independent Workers' Party) joined the Third International by decision of the majority of their congresses, and in others negotiated with the Communist International on the question of joining it, with the aim of preventing the revolutionary elements leaving them for the Communist Parties which were being formed.

During the period of the relative stabilization of capitalism, Communist Parties were formed and took firm root in the majority of the countries of the world (in sixty-five countries), and on the whole have mastered the program, the tactical and organizational principles of Bolshevism.

At the time when the partial stabilization of capitalism has broken down and come to an end and when finally the world is closely approaching to a new cycle of revolutions and wars, the Communist International unites Communist Parties which in the capitalist countries are becoming mass parties with accumulated revolutionary experience, and which, in the conditions of sharpening contradictions, are beginning to carry on the policy of class against class.

In the fifteen years of its existence, the Comintern, which was founded at the initiative of the C.P.S.U. under the leadership of Lenin and which has worked for the last ten years under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, is able to show a series of achievements:

1. For the first time in the history of the working

class movement, a united centralized world Party has been formed with a single leadership, Marxist-Leninist program and tactics and organization, based on national sections which accept the principles and tactical directives of the Comintern not only in words, but which, in almost all the countries of the world, try to carry them out in practice in accordance with the concrete conditions of the given country.

2. The sections of the C.I. at the present time are united and more firmly welded together than ever before. By carrying on a struggle on two fronts, against "left" phrases and right opportunism, they have brought about the liquidation of factions and groupings and have learned to crush, expose and remove anti-Party elements from their ranks at the very first signs of their appearance. A characteristic example of this can be found in what has recently happened in the Czechoslovakian Party. A member of the Political Buro of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, named Gutman, was removed from the post of editor of the Party's central newspaper, the *Rude Pravo*, for the opportunist line carried on in the paper on the most important questions. In struggling against this decision of the C.C., Gutman attempted to build up a faction, and sent out a platform memorandum to the Party organizations and Communist fractions, containing Trotskyist slanders against the C.P. of Czechoslovakia and the Comintern. This memorandum of Gutman was discussed in the Party organizations, which unanimously rejected it, and Gutman himself who imagined himself to be a leader, was immediately thrown out of the ranks of the Party, not a single member of the Party following the renegade.

3. Despite the fierce struggle which the bourgeoisie, the Social-Democratic Parties and the trade union bureaucrats are carrying on against the Communists (forty sections of the C.I. are illegal, eight are semi-legal and only sixteen are more or less legal, not counting the C.P.S.U., and part of the C.P., China in the Soviet districts of China), the influence of the Sections of the Communist International over the workers is growing in all countries. Ever wider strata of the revolutionary workers are becoming convinced that only the Communist Party defends the day-to-day interests of the toilers, and that only the Communist Party is capable of leading the proletariat into the struggle for the solution of its historical tasks, namely the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the winning of socialism.

4. There is complete clarity in the sections of the C.I. on the question of imperialist war, and unani-

mity exists on the basic and most important points, i.e., the realization that it is imperative to direct the struggle first and foremost against their own imperialism. But it was the question of imperialist war which caused the disintegration of the Second International in 1914, and which is bringing about its collapse now, because the Social-Democratic Parties are already openly beginning to take up their positions in accordance with the interests of their own imperialists. In those countries which are already carrying on war (Japan, China, Bolivia, Paraguay, Colombia, Peru), the Communist Parties have taken up a correct Leninist position on the question of the struggle against imperialist war, and the strongest of these, namely the Chinese and Japanese Parties, are actively and selflessly carrying out this correct policy.

5. As distinguished from the Social-Democratic Parties of pre-war times, the Sections of the Comintern have begun to work among the peasants not only in the colonial and semi-colonial countries (China), but also in the big capitalist countries of Europe and America. This work is as yet far from being fully developed, but the first steps in this sphere have already been taken (Bulgaria, Poland, Spain, U.S.A., France, etc.)

6. As distinguished from the Second International, Sections of the Comintern have been organized not only in capitalist countries, not only in dependent countries, but also in almost all the colonies, and, in contradistinction to the Parties of the Second International, these Sections carry on, not a bourgeois policy but the Marxist-Leninist policy on the national and colonial questions.

7. The Communist Parties carry on systematic work to popularize the victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R., though it should be said that owing to the insufficiently wide contacts of the Communists with the masses, even this work by no means reaches all those strata of the toilers who could be won over for active support of the Soviet Union. In addition, Communists do not always know how to repulse the lies and provocative activity of the social-democrats and of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, which, as is well known, represents the main source for the supply of anti-Soviet libel.

8. The Sections of the Communist International carry on mass campaigns in all the countries of the world against the preparations for imperialist war and attacks on the Soviet Union, against Japanese plunder in China and the participation of the imperialists in the attacks of the Kuomintang on Soviet China, against fascism in Germany and other countries.

9. As distinguished from the parties of the Second International, many Communist Parties carry on political and educational work in the army and navy.

10. During the period of their existence, the Sections of the Comintern have not only led and continue to lead strikes and demonstrations independently, but many of them have organized and participated in barricade fighting.

11. Finally, though not in an equal degree in all Sections, well-steeled and numerically strong cadres have been formed, which not only want to carry on Communist work but actually carry it on despite all difficulties, brutal terror, murder and torture.

II. THE SITUATION IN THE VARIOUS SECTIONS

Passing on to a review of the situation in the various sections of the Comintern, it may be stressed with regard to many of them, that: (1) they have succeeded, due to a correct Leninist policy, in securing certain successes in the recent period in leading the mass revolutionary movement, in winning away new strata of workers from the influence of social-democracy, and in organizationally consolidating their positions in the ranks of the working class. (2) But that despite these successes, the Comintern has not yet succeeded to a sufficient degree in solving the task of eliminating the organizational lagging of the Sections of the C. I. behind their growing ideological and political influence.

Take the Communist Party of Germany.

The C. P. of Germany had over 300,000 members at the time when Hitler came to power. At the present time, the Party, which has been driven deeply underground by the fascist terror, has still about 100,000 members linked up with the Party organizations. About 60,000 Party members, including many activists, are in prisons and concentration camps. About 2,000 activists have been murdered by the fascists. Many Party members, hunted down by the fascists have been compelled to leave the country. A considerable number of Party members have lost contact with the Party organizations. Despite the heavy losses and the unceasing unbridled terror, our Party organizations have been restored throughout the country. In a number of organizations, the Party leadership was smashed up by the fascists four to five times, but was restored on each occasion. From the very first moment after the fascist coup d'état took place, the cells, section committees and city committees developed enormous initiative, and published literature, proclamations, leaflets, pamphlets, and have distributed them far and wide. The Communists have also rapidly begun to restore organizational contacts with the non-Party workers. In individual factories and even in big factories and mines, the Party members have once again begun to unite the workers around themselves, and among these are to be found members of the fascist factory organizations. This unity has taken place primarily on the

basis of the struggle against wage reductions and "voluntary" payments.

To what depths of counter-revolutionary infamy must Trotsky have descended to be able to write about this heroic work of the German Communist Party in his sheet the *Verite* that "the C. C. (of the German C. P.) left the Party to its fate, without leadership, without slogans, even without any explanations."

Even the fascists have not been able to seriously accept this lie which Trotsky has tried to get into the international bourgeois press for their benefit.

During the last few months, a series of big strikes have taken place in big factories, as a result of which the workers have secured the withdrawal of the new wage cut, the stoppage of the additional deductions and "voluntary" payments made to the fascists. In 280 forced labor camps there have been strikes.

The course of events has shown that the Communists were right when they said that Hitler would not be able to strangle the revolutionary upsurge in Germany. Our Party is illegally publishing not only the central organ *Rote Fahne* but also a series of district papers. It issues pamphlets on a large scale. The fascist police have repeatedly stated that no small amount of this literature is printed in Germany. The German worker cannot help seeing that there is only one party carrying on a struggle against the fascists, and that is the Communist Party. This is why the Communist Party, despite all the horrors of the terror, is ever more powerfully attracting the revolutionary elements of the social democratic party and the ex-members of the reformist trade unions. Cells and local organizations now exist composed in the main of ex-members of the Social Democratic Party. The influx of ex-social democratic workers into the Communist Party is so strong that some of the leading district comrades began to get scared at it and to introduce a series of measures restricting the acceptance of these workers into the Party. This sectarian position was condemned by the Central Committee of the Party and corrected in time.

It is particularly important for the Communist Party of Germany at the present time to penetrate into all the mass organizations of the enemy. It is well-known that even before the coming of Hitler to power the number of workers organizationally covered by the Communist Party was far from corresponding to its political influence.

In November 1932, the Communist Party had about 330,000 members, while the T. U. opposition and the red trade unions had roughly the same number (312,000). The circulation of the Party and trade union press also reached approximately 300,000. The influence of the Party was a big one, 6 million votes being cast for the Party at the elections, but the Party

was not able to consolidate this influence, for even the broadest organizations under the influence of the Party, the Red Aid, W.I.R., Red Sport Organizations, and "Freethinkers", did not unite the millions who voted for the Communist Party either. There were various kinds of different organizations, but all of them were composed of approximately the same people, i. e., of workers close to the Communist Party who were members of all these organizations at one and the same time. The weak way in which the Party's sympathizers were organized made itself felt particularly when the Communist Party, at decisive moments, called for mass actions, for strikes. These appeals of the Communist Party did not meet with the response among the broad masses of the workers corresponding to its political influence.

This organizational weakness is to be explained by the fact that the Communist Party of Germany did not pay sufficient attention to work in the reformist and catholic workers' organizations, though many members of these organizations voted for the Communist Party at the parliamentary elections.

At the present time, when fascism is exerting every effort to isolate the Communist Party from the masses, the Communists must persist in penetrating all the organizations where the fascists have dragged the workers and peasants. The Communists must organize Communist fractions in these organizations and carry on Communist anti-fascist work there. Insufficient attention has been paid to this work up to the present.

In addition to work in the fascist mass workers' organizations, the Communist Party of Germany should have organized independent class trade unions in all industries. Above all the members of the social democratic party and the former reformist trade unions should have been drawn into these independent unions. The Communist Party of Germany has so far done very little in this sphere. With capable and energetic work, it will not be difficult to draw whole branches of the former reformist trade unions into the independent unions.

The Communist Party of Poland is linked up with the working class. At the time of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. it had about 18,000 members (not counting the Y.C.L.). In the revolutionary trade unions, which have a certain influence, there are several tens of thousands of members. The Polish comrades stand in the front ranks of all the revolutionary struggles of the working class and lead a considerable number of strikes. The year 1934 opens up a period of new big political actions of the Polish proletariat. These are strikes against the new laws introduced by the government, intended to worsen social legislation, against laws on compulsory fascist arbitration, on what amounts to the liquidation of the eight-hour day and social insurance, etc. About

200,000 workers have taken part in these strikes which have been of a political character.

The national revolutionary struggle is developing in Western White Russia and Western Ukraine. Peasant unrest is also extending to Poland proper. The Communist Party is developing its work among the peasants. There are frequent street demonstrations in which workers, unemployed and even peasants take part.

Despite the fact that our Party has been able to carry on big strikes, it has not been able to consolidate organizationally the results of the struggle against the P.P.S. and other parties, for the Communist Party carries on very little work among the P.P.S. (Polish Socialist Party), Catholic, nationalist and fascist trade unions and other mass organizations, and even this is done badly. When the P.P.S. calls for political strikes, which represent a maneuver on its part, the Communist Party and the trade unions which follow it naturally support this call, trying to really carry the strikes into practice. There have been cases when the Communist Party has independently called for general political strikes, apart from the P.P.S., and the broad masses have not responded to its call. This shows that the P.P.S. trade unions still have considerable influence not only on their own members but also on the unorganized workers. Such a situation makes it obligatory on the Communist Party to begin to work energetically inside the P.P.S. workers' organizations as well, and by carrying on Bolshevik organizational work and an ideological struggle inside these organizations, to liberate the working masses from the influence of the treacherous leaders of the P.P.S.

The Communist Party of Spain had 120 members at the time of the overthrow of the monarchy in 1931, but it now has about 30,000 members.

It is well known that in the workers' movement in Spain, anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist tendencies chiefly prevailed. The late leaders of the Communist Party were infected with syndicalism. At the height of the revolutionary struggles, the young Communist Party was faced with the necessity of cleansing its ranks, removing a number of leaders (Buejos, Adame, Trial, Bega) and putting in their place new leaders who had come forward in the struggle. Basing itself on the open letter of the E.C.C.I., the Party was able to carry on such broad activity for the exposure of the old leaders that the latter did not carry a single member of the Party with them and proved to be compromised in the eyes of the non-Party workers.

The Red Trade Unions which are entirely under the influence of the Communist Party, have 73,000 members. During strikes, they act on the basis of the united front along with other T. U. organizations embracing not less than 150,000 members. The Com-

unist Party of Spain takes an active part in all strikes, demonstrations, and frequently organizes and leads them. The Communists organize peasant committees which seize the estates of the landlords and in some districts keep their hold on them (chiefly in Estramadura and Andalusia), in spite of the punitive expeditions sent there from the center.

Despite all the election intrigue and violence of the bourgeois parties, the Communist Party received over 400,000 votes at the last parliamentary elections and secured the election of its candidates. The legal central organ of the Communist Party, *Mundo Obrero* (Workers' World), which had a wide circulation, was suppressed by the government immediately after the last parliamentary elections. The Party has begun to publish an illegal newspaper.

The revolution in Spain which has lasted for three years, has not given anything either to the workers or the peasants. The Agrarian reform promised by the bourgeois leaders has not been carried out, and therefore the peasants set fire to the manor houses of the landlords, to monastery and church property, and seized the harvest, implements and land. The Spanish proletariat is becoming the leading force in the Spanish revolution. It is carrying the peasants with it, and will continue to do so. The strength of our Party is growing. It is struggling to liberate the workers and peasants from under the influence of the reformists, anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists. Only the Communist Party will be able to lead the proletariat and the peasants in their struggle for the Soviet republic.

The C. P. of Spain, however, pays insufficient attention to work in the mass workers' and peasants' organizations which follow the reformists and anarcho-syndicalists. Over 100,000 workers participated in the general strike, which the Communist Party, the Y.C.L. and the Red Trade Unions fixed for February 19th directed against reaction in Spain and as a mark of solidarity with the Austrian and French workers. But bearing in mind the revolutionary circumstances of Spain, many more could have participated. The explanation is that the reformist and anarcho-syndicalist trade unions refused to support this strike, not responding to the protests from their own members and local organizations. This shows that the reformists and anarcho-syndicalists have to be exposed inside their organizations.

The Communist Party of Italy. After the advent of the fascists to power, our Party unlike the German Communist Party was insufficiently prepared to maintain contacts with the masses under the blows of the terror. The Party was smashed up. By the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the Party, whose membership had fallen sharply after a series of smashing blows, had again begun to increase its membership from among new revolutionary elements.

The Party has recovered from the first blows, and has begun to put its work in proper order, and despite systematic provocation and repeated arrests, has not ceased its work among the proletariat and the peasants for a number of years. The year 1933 marked a growth of the workers' and peasants' movement. There have been actions by the workers in 56 towns, such as demonstrations of employed and unemployed, strikes and protest meetings, mass participation in the funeral of Communists, etc. In the province of Ferrara, the manors of the landowners were set on fire. In March 1933, in the province of Bologna a demonstration of conscripts took place, and in Garcia a demonstration of certain infantry units took place, where they demanded an improvement of their food. There have been cases when members of the mass fascist organizations (in the vicinity of Milan, an industrial district) refused to participate in the demonstration arranged for the anniversary of the fascist march on Rome (October 29th). It is noteworthy that as soon as the workers' and peasants' movement began to show signs of life in Italy, the maximalists and social democrats, who had lived abroad for ten years, made their appearance in Italy with a view of tacking themselves on to the revolutionary movement and bringing it under their influence. The social democrats are even trying to publish legal newspapers.

In addition to the fascist trade unions which all workers are forced to join, (because it is impossible to get work without a membership card), there are a number of other mass workers' organizations in Italy formed by the fascists. The biggest of these organizations is the *Dopo Lavoro* (a musical-cultural-sports organization) with two million members. Although the latter was formed by the fascists, it is a voluntary organization. Neither the Communist Party nor the illegal Red Trade Unions have so far managed to carry on extensive work either in the fascist trade unions or in the other mass workers' organizations, including the *Dopo Lavoro*.

The Communist Party of Japan is numerically not very large. In 1932 it had about 3,000 members (during the last few years about 15,000 Communists, sympathizers and members of other revolutionary organizations have been arrested), but it has very great influence on the workers, peasants and even on the urban petty-bourgeoisie.

I will only give a few of the facts from the reports of the representatives of the C. P. of Japan in the Comintern.

The Party carries on a wide campaign against war, against wage-cuts and the worsening of the conditions of labor, especially in the war enterprises, against depriving the peasants of their homes and land for failure to pay taxes, and struggles for the

liberation of political prisoners. These campaigns receive a great response from the workers, peasants and petty-bourgeoisie.

During 1933 about 50 new factories were built in Japan, in which tanks, airplanes, automobiles and other weapons are manufactured. The working day in the war factories usually lasts from 14-16 hours. Wages are systematically being reduced. This causes conflicts in the big war factories. Strikes of metal workers took place at Osano, as well as strikes at the airplane factories in Nagoio. The Party is carrying on a successful campaign in the military factories against collections for military purposes. There have been cases when the workers refused to pay anything for the air fleet, and sent the money to Shanghai for the anti-war committee. At some of the war factories which receive orders for the navy, factory committees have been elected. The factory committees began a struggle for increased wages and for improved conditions of labor. When their demands were refused the workers went on strike and the employers were forced to recognize the factory committees and increase wages. A campaign is being carried on by the illegal trade unions at the war factories in Tokio and Nagoio for the election of factory delegates and the calling of town conferences of these delegates. Due to the driving of the peasants from the land, the number of conflicts between the peasants and landlords is continually increasing. Frequent political demonstrations take place in the country under the leadership of the Communist Party (in connection with the trial and murder of Communist leaders, May First, August First, etc.).

In Japan there are legal workers' and peasants' organizations which have several hundred thousand members, headed by the arrant agents of the bourgeoisie, the social democrats and reformist trade union leaders. The work of our Party in these organizations is weak. It is an urgent task of the Communist Party not only to begin to work in these organizations, but to carry on a furious campaign there against the treacherous leaders of these organizations.

During the period under review the greatest successes of all sections of the C. I. have been achieved by the Communist Party of China.

In Kuomintang China, the Communist Party and the illegal Red Trade Unions which are underground organized a broad struggle against the Japanese imperialists and against the Kuomintang government. The Communist Party of China with the participation of the Anti-Imperialist League prepared the anti-war, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist congress. The campaign for the congress was carried on at the factories. Over 70 delegates from China and a

delegation which had come from Europe were present at the illegal anti-war congress, which was closely but unsuccessfully watched over by the international and Chinese police.

The strike struggle is carried on under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Red Trade Unions. Recently there have been strikes of sailors, railwaymen, textile workers and workers of other industries in Shanghai, Kwangtung and a number of other towns. In the four months of 1933 (May to August) 300,000 workers came out on strike. The Party is also working among the soldiers and peasants. In eight months in 1933 there were 32 peasant revolts and a series of soldiers mutinies.

As for Soviet China, it now occupies one-sixth of the territory of China. The regular units of the Red Army number 250,000 at the present time, while the irregulars number over 600,000. There are about 200,000 members in the Red Trade Unions in the central Soviet district of Kiangsi alone. In eight counties of the Central Soviet district there are about 150,000 poor peasants organized in the poor peasants' groups. The Anti-Imperialist League in the same district has 500,000 members, while the Red Aid and the Friends of the Soviet Union each have 600,000 members.

The Communist Party of China sends workers and farm laborers into the Red Army to form a strong proletarian backbone there. It forms shock divisions and corps composed of Communists, Young Communists, workers and farm laborers, improves and extends the work of the various military schools and carries on the accelerated training of irregular military units. A great deal has been written on the brilliant victories of the Red Army and the vast amount of arms captured by it in battle during the five campaigns of Chiang-Kai-shek against the Soviet regions.

Chiang-Kai-shek's sixth campaign against the Soviet districts differed from the previous ones in the fact that it had the active support of all the big imperialist powers. The Red Army has also successfully repulsed the attack in this most difficult campaign. At the end of last year this campaign was interrupted by the struggle between the Nankingites and the Nineteenth Army in Fukien. The Nanking troops succeeded in breaking through the territory of the central Soviet district which borders on Fukien in order to begin military operations against the Nineteenth Army. After the defeat of the Nineteenth Army in Fukien, the liberated forces of the Nanking troops began a stubborn struggle against the Red Army of the Central Soviet district, which in practice is already the seventh campaign. In this campaign the Red Army has also secured a number

of big successes in recent battles. But decisive battles are still continuing.

The Chinese Red Army has obtained enormous successes in Szechwan. A great part of this extensive territory has already been converted into a Soviet district.

Within a few years the Chinese Soviets have greatly strengthened their influence not only in the Soviet districts themselves, but in the neighboring districts.

This is how the *China Times* of December 28th, 1933, describes the situation in the Soviet districts according to an investigation conducted by the Shanghai Sun-Yat-Sen Institute:

"In the districts occupied by the Reds all the land is cultivated. The method of distributing the land in the Red districts is as follows: the best land is given to former farm laborers and poor peasants, while the rich peasants receive the worst and hitherto uncultivated land. Great attention is paid to artificial irrigation. The investigators state: 'We are delighted with the work of the Reds in the sphere of education. In actual fact schools have been opened in all the villages. Ten-year-old children questioned by us proved to have a good knowledge of general and political subjects. The liquidation of illiteracy is being carried out among the adult population.'"

Both the revolutionary workers' movement in Kuomintang China and the entire policy in the Soviet districts are led by the Communist Party, at the head of which stands the Central Committee which is a united monolithic leading organ.

However, despite the big successes of the Communist Party, it must be stated that its work in the Kuomintang mass organizations, and especially in the trade unions is still weak. We should also note the absolutely insufficient popularization by the Communist Party in Kuomintang China of the successes of the Soviet districts.

The Communist Party of France. The Communist Party, the Y.C.L. and the revolutionary trade unions of France were until recently, losing their members and the readers of their newspapers, while the socialists and reformists were increasing the membership of their organizations and the number of readers of their newspapers. This can be explained by the fact that the Communist Party, the Y.C.L. and Red Trade Unions did not pay the necessary attention to mass work, did not fight sufficiently against the Socialist Party and the reformist trade unions. The Socialist Party of France is a specialist in the art of tricking the masses and of clever maneuvering. Fearing the loss of their influence over the masses, they have never openly entered the bourgeois government since the war, though they have supported this government in parliament all the time. They have even

gone so far as to split with the "right" socialists who demanded participation in the bourgeois government (the neo-socialist Marquet is participating in the Doumergue government now, the government of "National Unity"). However, the Communist Party has not exposed and is not exposing these maneuvers of the socialists sufficiently.

During the last seven or eight years the Communist Party has carried through a series of big and successful campaigns (against the war in Morocco, the Gorgulov campaign, against the preparations for imperialist war and against fascism), but it has not been able to consolidate sufficiently the influence which it obtained as the result of these campaigns. While these campaigns were actually taking place, the circulation of *l'Humanité* would increase by many tens of thousands, but when the campaigns were over the circulation fell again.

During the world economic crisis the standard of living of the broad masses of workers has fallen in France as well. Unemployment figures in France are also very high. This has increased the discontent of the masses with the policy of the socialists and the reformist trade unions, who have not only failed to carry on a real struggle against the worsening of the conditions of the workers, but have even helped towards this worsening.

To prevent the masses going over to the Communists, the socialists shout about the united front, but in reality they disrupt every joint struggle of the Communist and socialist workers.

In spite of the fact that such cases of speculation as the Stavisky case have been frequently disclosed in France, the latter which is one of the usual cases of money speculation has on this occasion called forth a powerful ferment among the petty-bourgeoisie and partly among the workers. Numerous representatives of leading sections of the French bourgeoisie, and to an equal degree the fascist bosses, are involved in this affair. The latter, however, took advantage of the excitement of the petty-bourgeoisie to overthrow the government of the "left bloc" which had dared to dismiss the chief of the Paris police, Chiappe, a supporter of the fascists, and patron of all the grafters and thieves who rob the broad masses of depositors and creditors.

On February 6th the fascists organized a demonstration and marched to parliament in order to overthrow the government of the "left bloc". They put forward a slogan which was popular among the petty-bourgeoisie—"Down with the thieves involved in the Stavisky affair who are being hidden by the government of the 'left bloc'." The fascist demonstration roused the proletariat of Paris who had drawn their own revolutionary conclusions from Hitler's fascist dictatorship in Germany. In reply to this demonstration, the workers spontaneously came out

onto the streets. One part of the workers openly demonstrated against the fascists, while another part of the workers also marched to parliament with their own demands without, however, separating their demonstration sufficiently clearly from the fascist demonstration. Leadership by the Communist Party over the workers' demonstrations which spontaneously took place was not in evidence that day. The socialists began a campaign against the Communist Party, accusing the Communists of demonstrating together with the fascists. However, on February 7th the Communist Party not only advanced correct slogans but also developed an energetic campaign against the fascists. The Communist Party fixed demonstrations for February 9th which were attended by the majority of the French proletariat in all the industrial centers of the country. All the attempts of the socialists and T. U. bureaucrats to disrupt these demonstrations were unsuccessful. Even the maneuver which they tried of fixing the general strike for February 12th, and they did this with a view of keeping the workers from participating in the demonstration of February 9th—was unsuccessful. The Communist Party acted quite correctly in not restricting itself to calling for the demonstrations on February 9th, but called on the proletariat to participate in the strike of February 12th, called by the socialists. The Communist Party, however, went further, and on February 12th led the striking workers into the streets and organized tremendous demonstrations, despite the fact that the leaders of the reformist trade unions had promised the president of the republic that the strike would be a peaceful one without street demonstrations.

As a result of these events broad masses of workers left the reformists and followed our Party. The funeral of the victims of the police, which was organized by the Communist Party, turned into a tremendous demonstration. Only a few thousand people walked in the separate Socialist column, while 200,000 marched under the banners of the Communist Party.

The circulation of *l'Humanité* at this time increased to 600,000 and the demand for *l'Humanité* in the provinces could not for technical reasons be fully satisfied.

The Communist Party is faced with the important and urgent tasks of organizationally consolidating the tremendous influence which it has obtained, of exposing all the maneuvers of the socialists who have tried to show that they "fought" during these days. What is particularly important is that the Party must in every possible way strengthen the united front of struggle which has already been formed, and create united front committees in the factories which will continue to carry on the struggle in all forms. This will be really carrying through the tactics of the united front from below.

The Red Trade Unions, the Y.C.L., the sports and

other revolutionary workers' organizations must begin a wide recruiting campaign. The Communist Party must open the door for the best revolutionary workers. In order to carry on a more successful struggle against the reformists, the Communist Party and the Y.C.L. must begin energetic work in the reformist trade unions and the other mass organizations which follow the socialists. Up to the present this work has been utterly neglected. The Red Trade Unions, on their part, must by their improved work help to expose the reformists inside the reformist workers' organizations.

The Communist Party of Austria. In little Austria, the Social-Democratic Party had 648,000 members even in 1932, and the trade unions under the influence of social-democracy had 520,000 members in the same year. The social-democrats had a tremendous majority in all workers' "commissions" and in the municipalities of all the industrial towns of the country. They represented the working class in parliament.

In spite of the fact that the Communist Party had representatives even at the First Congress of the Comintern, it is not as yet a mass Party. Until the recent events it had about 5,000 members.

Its struggle against social-democracy was hindered not only by the fact that the social-democrats had possession of the entire mass workers' movement, but also by the fact that Austrian social-democracy was the most "left" party of the Second International cunningly utilizing the tactics of the "lesser evil". It took no small time for the C.C. of the Communist Party to convince its members of the necessity of adopting the tactics of class against class, of the necessity of developing the struggle against social-democracy as well.

Despite all these difficulties, the Communist Party democracy, the latter succeeded nevertheless in keeping the workers under its influence owing to the sops which it gave them in the shape of relief, communal construction, etc. The social-democrats had a majority in the municipalities of the industrial towns, and so were able to carry on this policy.

Despite all these difficulties, the Communist Party succeeded in strengthening itself among the unemployed, in penetrating some big factories, in organizing demonstrations, in conducting strikes here and there, but it did not play a big role in the working class movement of Austria. And this was the case despite the fact that in its press and at meetings, the Communist Party capably exposed the treacherous role of social-democracy, giving quite good explanations to the masses of the slogans which it put forward.

In the recent events the Communist Party played quite an important role. It called for a general strike even before the beginning of the events in Linz. It has now been definitely established that when the social-democratic workers heard of the events in Linz

and partially responded to the call of the Communist Party, they began the strike without waiting for the question to be decided by the Social-Democratic Party. It has now been definitely established that the social-democrats and the reformist trade unions urged the workers to return to work. It was only after the workers refused to listen to these persuasive arguments, that the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party (by a majority of one vote), sanctioned the strike. The trade unions not only did not call for a strike but prevented its spreading.

The Communist Party took a most active part in the armed struggle of the workers against the fascists. In the 7th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 16th, 17th, 19th and 21st districts of Vienna, the Communists fought alongside of the Schutzbund. In Schlingerhof and Floridsdorf, Communists and members of the Schutzbund were in the committee of struggle leading the struggle of the workers. At the Anker bread bakery and the Leopoldau gas works, the workers came out on strike and carried on an armed struggle under Communist leadership. In Linz, Sceuer, Wolfsegger, and Brucke am Mur, the Communists fought side by side with the members of the Schutzbund. The Communist fought courageously.

While the armed revolt was on, the Communist Party published leaflets calling on the workers to form Soviets and a red guard, and called on them to put an end to defense and to go over to the offensive. All the attempts, however, of the C.C. of the Communist Party to set up a central leadership of the uprising met with no success. The Communist Party was not in a position to bring about the arming of the proletariat against the wishes of the S.D. leaders. It was not in a position to bring out a real general strike, to stop railway traffic, and to stop the supply of water and light.

The small Austrian Communist Party is faced with tremendous tasks. It must help the workers to liberate themselves from the influence of the social-democrats, it must prevent the government destroying all the workers' organizations. To carry out these tasks, the Communists must join the reformist trade unions which though formally dissolved can and must continue to exist illegally, and must organize their work there in such a way as to direct these trade unions along the revolutionary path. Hitherto, the Communist Party has paid little attention to work in the reformist trade unions. The Communist Party now possesses all the pre-requisites for building up a mass Party from among the social-democratic workers. According to the latest information, members of the social-democratic Schutzbund who fought side by side with the Communists are coming over to the Communist Party in a number of towns.

It is only now, when the working class members of the Social-Democratic Party and the reformist trade unions have by their own experience seen to what

their leaders have brought the working class, how they have surrendered one position after another to the fascists, how they did not permit the workers to begin the struggle against the enemy at the proper time, how even when the struggle had commenced they

prevented the workers from passing over from defense to attack that they are leaving the reformists in masses and coming under the banner of the Communist Party.

(Continued in Next Issue.)

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THE FIRST GREAT BATTLE OF THE FRENCH PROLETARIAT AGAINST FASCISM

By BERE

CAPITALIST France is being shaken by a turbulent outburst of profound class contradictions. The promised land of bourgeois democracy, one of the strongest links of world capitalism, has entered the zone of collisions between fascism and the proletariat. This struggle is assuming forms of class warfare, which had not happened in France since the Paris Commune.

By means of the actions of the united forces of reaction outside of Parliament, by staging the fascist demonstration on the streets of Paris on February 6th, the leading reactionary groups of the French bourgeoisie secured the capitulation of the "radical" government of Daladier with his "left" majority in parliament, and the creation of Doumerg's government, *which is preparing for open fascist dictatorship under cover of "National Conciliation"*. The democratic institutions of the Third Republic have glaringly revealed their impotence in the face of the fascist onslaught, their subservience to those forces of big capital which are fostering the fascist gangs and which organized their offensive. The most clamant of the knights of the "Defense of Democracy" in the "left bloc" hurriedly abandoned all resistance to the insurgent reactionaries and fascists and deserted to the camp of "National Unity", headed by the real organizers of the fascist attack on parliament.

But the sudden onslaught of counter-revolutionary fascism in France is being hurled back by the powerful tide of the proletarian revolution. The French proletariat replied to the fascist attack and to the capitulation of the "Defenders of democracy" by a powerful counter-attack in the shape of militant demonstrations in which hundreds of thousands of workers actively participated, and sanguinary battles in the streets of Paris and of other French cities which culminated in a mass successful one day general political strike.

As early as February 6th, the day of great mobilization of the fascist forces, the Parisian workers came out into the streets in thousands to demonstrate against the fascist gangs and against the "left" government of Daladier, who tried to mask the turbulent growth of fascist forces and their influence upon the bourgeois state by talking about creating a "strong government to defend democracy". Already on February 6th, in the very center of Paris, where, by the order of the *Comite des Forges* and the General Staff, the fascist gangs were storming parliament—the strains of "*Marseillaise*" sung by the Right groups—so says the bourgeois *Temps*—"alternated and sometimes merged with the 'International' of the demonstrating Communists".

But this was only the prelude to the powerful upsurge of the workers' movement, which took place a few days later, as a consequence of the brazen fascist provocation and the disgraceful capitulation of the "left" wing of bourgeois democracy. On February 7th and 8th great militant, anti-fascist demonstrations of the indignant toilers took place in Paris and in a number of cities in the provinces (Lyons, Guillier, Dijon, Monlussion). Nearly everywhere, these culminated in street fighting against the fascist gangs and the armed forces of the bourgeois state which defended them. The Communist Party of France placed itself at the head of the impetuously growing mass anti-fascist movement. In response to its appeal of February 9th, tens of thousands of Parisian workers demonstrated on the streets of Paris, despite the sabotage of the social-democrats, and in spite of the government's prohibition of demonstrations and its concentration of large military forces against them. According to *Temps* of February 10th, the government mobilized six cavalry, eight infantry and five artillery regiments in addition to the army of 20,000 police, gendarmes, and the mercenary *Garde Mobile*. These forces occupied all the important strategic points and the government buildings of Paris. The newly created government of National Unity intended to crush the powerful anti-fascist movement of the toiling masses by armed force and to drive the revolutionary workers from the streets of Paris. But the masses of the workers, under the leadership of the Communist Party accepted battle. In fierce street battles lasting five hours, in sanguinary barricade fighting, they not only secured the right of the proletariat to the street, but demonstrated to the whole of France the determination of the proletariat to put up a revolutionary resistance to fascism. Even the socialists who did everything they could to sabotage the demonstration organized by the Communist Party on February 9th, were compelled to admit its exceptional revolutionary might. Thus *Populaire* of February 10th, wrote:

"Throughout the whole evening, the demonstrators displayed remarkable courage and energy. Scattered in small groups all over the streets, they gathered again, they untiringly erected barricades, singing the '*International*', they withstood the onslaught of the mounted gendarmes and of the police who rushed upon them in their automobiles, they scattered, rallied again and resumed their work. Scores of barricades were thrown up, overthrown, and put up again as fast as they were overthrown. Shouts of approval were heard from working class onlookers who in many places came to

the defense of the demonstrators against the attacks of the police."

The government of "National Conciliation" calmly shot down the workers, and while on February 7th, the radicals in a "fit of pacifism" preferred to renounce their power rather than shed the blood of fascist patriots, on February 9th, it was not in the least disturbed by the fact that six workers had been killed and three hundred wounded.

The enormous demonstration of February 9th greatly affected the further development of the anti-fascist movement among the French toilers, and gave a powerful impetus to the calling of the general strike of February 12th by the reformist General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.) as a result of the pressure of the masses. The reformists had intended to organize this day under the slogan of "defend the existing republican regime" and under the symbol of "tranquility and dignity", and had even called off the demonstrations, but the Communist Party of France and the Unitary General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.U.) availed themselves of the successes and lessons of February 9th, and turned this day into a day of mass militant demonstration of the French proletariat. Never has a general strike in the history of the French working class movement assumed such huge dimensions as the general anti-fascist protest strike on February 12th. Four million workers took part in the strike, and in numerous towns a total of one and a half million went out into the streets to demonstrate under the slogan of "fight against the government of National Unity and against fascist organizations". Thousands of mass workers' pickets composed of revolutionary and reformist workers fought against scabs and the employers who had engaged them, to get those who had gone to work to down tools. This time in the majority of cases the armed forces of the bourgeoisie preferred to abstain from the offensive, but when they did attack the workers, as was the case in certain suburbs of Paris, they encountered determined resistance, which again developed into new barricade fighting and the shooting down of the bravely fighting workers. As *Temps* wrote:

"Notwithstanding its peaceful development—except for a few collisions—February 12, became a purely revolutionary day."

The socialist and reformist leaders had intended the general strike to be a sort of solemn and concluding act which was to wind up the outburst of revolutionary indignation. But, under the slogans of the Communist Party of France and the C.G.T.U., the general strike gave a powerful impetus to the further development of the mass anti-fascist movement. On February 17th the Paris workers buried their dead. A demonstration of 200,000 strong, a

demonstration of a magnitude hitherto unprecedented in Paris, was wholly and entirely carried out under the leadership of the French Communist Party, and under its revolutionary slogans.

The turbulent tide of the anti-fascist movement is still flowing. It has now embraced the broadest strata of the working class and of the toilers of the cities. The outstanding features of the mighty upsurge of the last few weeks has been that strata of the population and regions of the country have been drawn into the movement, which hitherto have remained aloof from the revolutionary movement. On February 12th, state employees, including teachers, participated in masses in general strike for the first time. Even according to official data, all the post and telegraph employees without exception took part in the strike. A number of remote towns in non-industrial districts witnessed revolutionary demonstrations for the first time. In many cases small shop-keepers and artisans joined the general strike and came to the assistance of the demonstrators fighting in the streets. In a number of localities the Arab workers from the Algiers colony of French imperialism demonstrated side by side with the French workers and employees and fought desperately in the streets against the armed forces of the bourgeoisie. The first echoes of the great upsurge of anti-fascist counter-attack of the proletariat are resounding—though as yet rather faintly—in the midst of the peasant masses and in the barracks of the French army.

Another important feature of this great movement is its exceptionally turbulent and militant character, the readiness of the working masses to adopt the sternest methods of fighting, by the stubbornness of their resistance to the armed forces of the bourgeoisie. The barricades and sanguinary street fighting became the order of the day not only in Paris, but also in Lyons, Marseilles, Nice, and other provincial cities of France. On February 9th, certain barricades in Paris were lost and won back again by the workers six times in succession. On February 12th, the workers in Mulhausen stormed the prison, and in Algiers the town-hall was stormed.

The upsurge of the mass revolutionary movement in France provides a practical demonstration of the application of the anti-fascist united front from below, a united front of the broad masses of toilers. Despite the sabotage of the Socialist Party and of the reformist leaders, the socialist and reformist workers participated in the demonstration organized on February 9th by the Communist Party in thousands. Two thousand socialists—mostly young workers—joined the ranks of demonstrators in whole columns. In many cases, the local reformist trade union organizations were compelled to form a united front with the unitary trade unions for joint preparations for and to carry out the general strike of February 12th.

Nearly all the demonstrations of that day were transformed into joint demonstrations of socialist and Communist, revolutionary and reformist workers under revolutionary anti-fascist slogans. The socialists themselves were compelled to adapt their phraseology and their maneuvers to this very profound irresistible striving of the working masses towards a united fighting front. For example, they hypocritically appealed to their followers to take part in the funeral of the victims of the Communist demonstration of February 9th, which they sabotaged but they ordered a separate socialist column to be formed. But in vain! The desire of the socialist workers for unity of action thwarted all the tricks of the socialist leaders; tens of thousands of socialists took part in the funeral demonstration on February 17th, and except for a few cases, no separate columns of the Socialist Party were formed. The socialist workers marched side by side with the Communist and non-Party workers.

Still another outstanding feature of the powerful anti-fascist upsurge of the French toilers is the very rapid growth of the political influence of the French Communist Party over the broad masses of the proletariat. Even the demonstrations which were organized by the socialists were in the majority of cases, carried out under the revolutionary slogans of the Communist Party. The slogan "Soviets in France" became the most popular slogan of the anti-fascist demonstrations. Tens of thousands of non-Party and socialist workers responded to the militant appeals of the Communist Party. On February 7, 9 and 12 they fought in the streets and behind the barricades under Communist leadership. The majority of the workers who were killed and wounded in the demonstrations were non-Party men, who, shoulder to shoulder with Communists, fought against the police and displayed supreme heroism in this struggle. It is to the Communist Party, and to its press in particular, that the masses of the workers are now turning for guidance and leadership. During the past month, the circulation of *Humanité*—the mass and daily organ of the French Communist Party—has increased to three to four-fold, and reached 500,000 to 600,000 copies per day during the period between the 6th and 12th of February.

All these features of the developing movement go to prove that the stormy wave of mass fights of the French proletariat are neither a casual nor a short-lived episode. They testify to the determination of the French working masses to accept battle against the forces of fascist dictatorship which are being feverishly trained by big capital. Given the proper leadership of the Communist vanguard, the rising anti-fascist movement of the toiling masses will not only be able to stop the fascist onslaught, but will

even be able to lead the proletariat to the storming of French capitalism.

What caused this sudden outburst of acute class conflicts in capitalist France, the development of which, only a few weeks ago, seemed to be the most peaceful of all the capitalist countries? It would, of course, be very nearsighted to reduce the causes of the events of February 6th, and of the days that followed it, to a struggle between two bourgeois factions for ministerial portfolios, or for the post of Prefect of Police of Paris. The ground for this sudden outburst was prepared by the long process of accumulation of contradictions in the system of French imperialism, by profound changes in the correlation of class forces under the conditions of the end of capitalist stabilization and of the economic crisis in France.

For twenty months, beginning with June, 1932, France was ruled by radical-socialist governments who leaned upon a "left"-bourgeois majority, including the Socialist Party in the Chamber. The beginning of the "left" regime coincided with the lowest point of decline of industrial production in France. From June, 1932, to October, 1933, industrial output steadily increased; but this was achieved by the French bourgeoisie, and its "left" government by means which greatly aggravated and deepened the fundamental contradictions of French capitalism. The shifting of the main burden of the economic crisis to the shoulders of the toiling masses in a multiplicity of ways did not diminish unemployment; on the contrary, unemployment has increased with the increase of production; the standard of living and the purchasing capacity of the working masses have rapidly declined. The sharp drop in the prices of agricultural produce has ruined the broad masses of middle and small peasants, and has aggravated the agrarian crisis to an enormous extent. The urban petty bourgeoisie, and other strata of toilers who are oppressed by the burden of ever-growing taxation, were ruthlessly knocked out of their positions by monopolist capital, which was liberally subsidized by the state. France tried to maintain the stability of the franc by accumulating huge gold reserves, but she is steadily losing in competitive power in the world market in the economic war against the countries which are resorting to inflation. All these contradictions resulted in a steady decline in production which commenced in September, 1933, and is continuing to the present day. At the beginning of February unemployment had reached its record height (340,000 totally unemployed receiving government dole, which according to official computations, corresponds to 1,500,000 totally unemployed). Never, during the whole period of the economic crisis has the loading of railway cars stood at the low level it stands now. The new downward curve of the economic crisis impelled

capitalism to renew its furious attack upon the masses of the workers.

Thus the course of the development of the economic crisis and the crisis policy pursued by the radical governments during the past two years, sharply accentuated the tension of class contradictions. In a number of big and militant strikes in the docks of Dunkirk, at the Citroen works, in the whole of the water transport system and in the general strike of the workers of Strassbourg, the workers during the past year sternly resisted the capitalist methods of "overcoming" the crisis. The attempts to "restore" the finances of the state by a drastic cut in the salaries of state employees have been thwarted for eighteen months already by the powerful resistance and mass actions of these categories of toilers. The French proletariat responded to the new intensification of the economic crisis in recent weeks, and to the new attacks of capital connected therewith, by a powerful movement and scores of demonstrations in January alone (including the demonstration of 15,000 workers in Calais in support of the demands of the unemployed), by an imposing strike of 25,000 chauffeurs in Paris under the leadership of the Unitary trade union against the introduction of a new tax on automobiles, and by a new wave of mass movements of state employees against the government's proposal to cut their salaries by 600,000,000 francs. All this on January 22 led up to the turbulent demonstration of 50,000 workers in Paris and to big demonstrations in a number of provincial towns,—all of which were carried out on the basis of a proletarian united front—accompanied by sharp collisions with the police.

Parallel with the upsurge of the labor movement there was a rapid growth of discontent and ferment among the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie who had been ruined by the crisis, and by the economic policy of the bourgeois governments. Mass actions of the peasants against the fall in prices, and the broad anti-taxation movement of the petty bourgeois masses in town and country broke out and more and more frequently exceeded the limits set for them by the leaders who were at the head of these movements. The intensification of the internal contradictions is still further aggravated by the worsening of the international situation of France as a result of the crisis of the Versailles system and the direct prospects of a new imperialist war amidst the conditions of a powerful anti-war movement within the country.

In these circumstances the old machinery of French parliamentary democracy proved to be less capable than ever of coping with the tasks which the big bourgeoisie had imposed upon it. It failed to suppress the growing resistance of the toiling masses with sufficient firmness. Instead of creating the stable and

firm government which the bourgeoisie needs so much now, it changed the government six times in the course of the last twenty months. Financial difficulties and the rapid growth of budget deficit revealed that the competition between rival bourgeois parliamentary factions in their effort to secure the votes of the workers, greatly impeded the realization of the ruthless measures demanded by big capital in order to transfer the burden of the crisis to the shoulders of the proletariat, the peasantry and the broad strata of the urban petty bourgeoisie. Earillis, the publicist of the French General Staff, expressed the prevailing opinion of the big bourgeoisie, when he wrote:

"The country has had enough of these ministries—wavering, oscillating, weak-willed and impotent. The country has had enough of these Coalition ministries which obtain the majority on the first day, and fall on the next. The country wants a real government! It is time to stop this falling down the inclined plane towards the revolution." (*Echo de Paris*, February 7, 1934.)

Faced with the upsurge of the mass movement and the decay of social-fascism, the decisive groups of the big bourgeoisie concentrated their efforts on overcoming the resistance of the toiling masses by new and more effective terrorist methods with the assistance of a "strong" authoritative and reorganized—in the fascist sense—government. The big bourgeoisie made preparations for a fascist *coup d'état*. New groups and organizations of a fascist nature were organized with the financial assistance of big capital and with the support of the "right" parliamentary groups. Under different titles—"French Solidarity", "League of Taxpayers", "Committee of Economic Salvation", or "League of the Fighting Cross"—all these groups and organizations pursued a common object, viz., to divert the ferment among the petty bourgeois masses who are discontented with the bourgeois regime to a counter-revolutionary movement directed against the working class and its organizations.

The "left" parties of the French bourgeoisie—both radical and socialist—did their utmost to adapt themselves to the fascist orientation of big capital. They adopted the platform of "creating a strong state", "of strengthening the authority of the government", i.e., of the increased fascization of bourgeois democracy. Concealing the growth of the fascist danger by their assurances that "democracy and liberty" would be protected by the "left" majority of parliament, they not only stood by quietly while fascist detachments were being organized, but they ardently defended and liberally supported the organizers of fascist forces of the Comité des Forges, the police apparatus and the General Staff of the Army. Despite all the services which the radicals,

the socialists and the "left" government which they supported have rendered to growing fascism, the contradictions in the camp of the bourgeoisie became extremely acute. While the "left" parties of the bourgeoisie were striving to preserve the traditional democratic formalities and phraseology, and continue to lean upon their old mass base, the "right" groups, which directly reflect the fascist tendency and prefer an open "revision of the constitution" and the "abolition of wide democracy", mobilized the masses under chauvinist and counter-revolutionary slogans and took the line of creating fascist organizations.

The immediate cause of the new outburst of the mass movement and the unleashing of the fascist forces was the Stavisky case. With the assistance of the whole state apparatus of the police, judicial organs, and hundreds of right and "left" statesmen of high standing, including a crowd of Radical-Socialist ministers bribed by him, Stavisky had succeeded in embezzling 500,000,000 francs which belonged to small depositors in the social insurance banks. By a special circular issued by the Radical-Socialist Minister of Labor these banks were ordered to buy Stavisky's fraudulent bonds. At the same time Stavisky excellently combined his biggest swindles with the role of agent of the secret police and of the French Intelligence Service. No wonder the French authorities are guarding "Stavisky's secret" with so much care, and are ruthlessly "liquidating" all those who could reveal this secret, including the exposed Stavisky himself.

The Stavisky affair is one of a series of financial-political scandals which periodically occur in the history of the Third Republic; but in the conditions of acute economic crisis and intense class antagonisms this case raised a storm of protest not only among the masses of the proletariat but also among the petty bourgeois strata. Under the influence of the Stavisky affair, all the actions of the workers and employees in support of their direct demands assumed a sharply political character and were transformed into a huge demonstration against the rotten bourgeois regime. At the same time, the fascist organizations succeeded in placing themselves at the head of the mass movement of the bourgeoisie who had been aroused by this affair. Guiding this movement under the slogans "down with the thieves", "against the parliamentary regime in general and against the government of the 'left' bloc in particular", they organized noisy demonstrations nearly every day in the streets of Paris and of a number of provincial towns. In this they were supported by the police apparatus. Thus, the powerful movement of the masses against the capitalist system, of which the Stavisky case was a remarkable reflection, was diverted into fascist channels and resulted in a con-

siderable increase of the influence of the fascist organizations.

Such were the circumstances in which the new "left" government of Daladier came into power at the end of January. After great hesitation it decided to dismiss Chiappe, the Prefect of Police of Paris, who was both the protector of Stavisky and the patron of the fascist organizations which demanded drastic punishment of "thieves" and their accomplices. The Daladier government was compelled to dismiss Chiappe as a concession to the workers, who clamored for the punishment of the hated Prefect of Police. On the other hand, by this measure the "left" government wanted to create the impression that it was fighting against the Right organizations, which were already openly preparing for a "national revolution". However, this measure actually satisfied nobody, nor did it frighten anyone; for instead of exposing and punishing Chiappe, Daladier showered civic honors upon him and promoted him to the post of Governor of Morocco. In reply Chiappe openly threatened "to appear in the streets of Paris". The reactionary parties and fascist organizations, leaning for support upon the General Staff and the police officials, joined forces with Chiappe and tried to take the offensive. The dismissed prefect of police, who for years had allowed the big swindlers a free field for their operations and who had fiercely suppressed the French proletariat, became the worthy banner for the mobilization of fascist forces on a big scale. "The leader of the army of order sacrificed to the elements of disorder"—so read the manifesto of the reactionary municipal councillors of Paris. The fascist *Jeuneuse Patriotique* openly sounded the tocsin in its manifesto. In it we read:

"The fatherland is in danger. Under the pressure of communists, the government has sacrificed Chiappe. Tomorrow, pressed by Germany, it will sacrifice General Weigan (Chief of the General Staff). The long expected hour, the hour of national revolution has struck."

Thus, the dismissal of Chiappe, while the fascists continued to enjoy complete liberty to organize and carry on their propaganda and while the police apparatus remained in the hands of Chiappe's henchmen, served, at least objectively, as a pretext for unleashing fascist forces, and for the fascist attack on parliament on February 6. The fascist organizations came out against the bourgeois democracy of the Third Republic and for a fascist dictatorship under the slogans: "Long live Chiappe, down with parliament." As a matter of fact this demonstration was an integral part of the plan for a reactionary coup planned by Chiappe, the leaders of reactionary groups and the militarists of the General Staff. The *Echo de Paris*, the organ of the General Staff,

admitted afterwards, that had the demonstration failed in its object and had the Daladier government refused to resign, Marshal Liots, himself would have finished the affair begun by the fascist demonstrators and would have marched into Paris at the head of the "patriotic" military forces. The reactionary municipality of Paris began to play the role of "White Commune", in opposition to the "left" government and parliament. According to the unanimous statements of the neo-socialist, E. Lafond, in the *Vie Socialiste*, the organ of "left" socialists of Etincelle and of other bourgeois sources, a list of the members of the reactionary Provisional Government had been drawn up, which already included Tardieu, Chiappe and one of the leading generals from the General Staff, in anticipation of the success of the attempt of the fascist gangs to storm the Chamber of Deputies and government buildings. The fascist demonstration of February 6 had a double aim in view: on the one hand, its purpose was to overthrow the "left" government, and to pave the way for a "real government" and prepare for a fascist dictatorship. On the other hand, it was intended to strike a blow at the revolutionary movement, win the right to the streets for fascism, and to usher in a new era of consistent struggle against revolution.

The first object of the fascists was achieved. The Daladier government was unable to retain its "victory". It proclaimed to the world that its "left" though bourgeois conscience, would not permit it to suppress fascist demonstrations by force of arms. Flaunting his "jacobin determination", Daladier, on February 6th, while the fascists were besieging the Chamber, was busy perusing legal text books in search of a clause "allowing" him to take effective measures against the insurgent fascists. And next day in utter panic, he refused to "secure order by means that would involve sanguinary repressions and fresh bloodshed."

However, it soon became apparent that the "abhorrence of bloodshed" by Daladier and his radical-socialist colleagues was very limited. They lost it immediately after the shooting of the workers' demonstrations began. The "left" parties, jointly with the bourgeoisie, very well knew the difference between the "illegality" of workers' demonstrations against "Social order indivisible from the republican regime" and fascist activities on February 6 and 7, which, according to them were—

"Demonstrations, which by their very nature and the sentiments of the enormous majority of participants were by no means directed against the regime, but, on the contrary, were striving towards the real defense of the regime." (*Temps*, February 16, 1934.)

In the face of the developing powerful proletarian counter-attack the "left" parties of the bourgeoisie hastily submitted to the most reactionary elements of their class for the purpose of jointly defending the capitalist "order" against the counter-attack of the indignant toiling masses, no matter how much blood was shed. The events in France on February 6 and 7 proved that the statement made by international social-democracy that fascism was only dangerous "in those countries which had no democratic traditions" and that "in the countries with long-standing democracy" "democratic institutions" furnish the best protection for the proletariat against fascist forces, was utterly false. On the very next day the police and the army, which were depicted by the "left bloc" as the defenders of "democratic institutions" threatened to refuse to fight against "meritorious patriots", against fascist gangs, and deserted to their camp. The "left" government, which enjoyed absolute power, the government, to which the majority of the Chamber, only the day before had three times voted its confidence with the aid of the votes of the social-fascists of all factions, openly admitted that capitulation was the only outcome of the "struggle" against fascism. The strongest "left" party of the capitalist world, possessing an assured "democratic majority" in the Chamber, sought refuge in a "government of national unity" under the leadership of the most reactionary elements in order to throw their united forces against the anti-fascist demonstration of the proletariat. Buisson—the Socialist President of the Chamber, who belongs to Blum's faction—played the role of honest broker in the creation of this government whose purpose was to pave the way for open fascist dictatorship, and in which Marquet, the Socialist Mayor of Bordeaux, who belongs to the faction of "neo-socialists", is collaborating fraternally with the most prominent leaders of fascist tendencies. Truly a more ridiculous collapse of all the theories of "pure democracy", a more shameful bankruptcy of the "democratic parties" including the socialists, a more striking illustration of how fascism grows organically out of bourgeois democracy cannot be imagined. The social-fascist Frossard declaims lugubriously:

"It is necessary to register the demise of popular government. For the second time people whom the country has removed from all affairs are once again, without asking permission, taking the reins of government into their hands; universal suffrage is nothing but a bitter mockery. If we wanted to be sincere and candid with ourselves, we would annul it altogether and shut the doors of parliament. . . ." (*Marianne*, Feb. 14, 1934.)

By mobilizing its fascist forces the big bourgeoisie succeeded in forming a government which is

to pave the way for an open fascist dictatorship. The "government of national unity" must not be regarded as the result of an ordinary parliamentary combination. The government of Doumerge unites all factions of the bourgeoisie including the neo-socialists, under the leadership of the most reactionary representatives of fascist orientation of big capital. Tardieu, the other fascist agents of the "Comitee de Forges", and Marshal Patin, the honorary representative of the counter-revolutionary General Staff are predominant in this government. The Doumerge government is taking the first important steps towards paving the way for and introducing an open fascist dictatorship. The fascist heralds of "national revolution" have every reason to be satisfied with the measures that have been undertaken in the name of "national conciliation". Kerillis wrote:

"The revolt of the rights, which implied a certain risk, has succeeded. France can breathe again. The blood of the dead has not been shed in vain."

But French fascism regards the government of "national unity" as a stage in the preparation for the open fascist dictatorship. It is to open the way for the complete liquidation of the remnants of bourgeois democracy, for the application of terrorist methods of suppressing the rapidly growing forces of proletarian revolution. The fascist gangs protected by the Doumerge government are waiting behind its back for the propitious moment for a new and decisive attack. Colonel da la Coque, the head of a fascist organization known as "The Fiery Cross", wrote:

"The new government is but a half-measure, which has no future. It is nothing but a temporary dressing on gangrene. Let us not tear off the dressing, but let us be on *qui vive*. Let us be ready for the purging of the gangrene, which will not fail to spread."

* * * * *

The fascist demonstrations of February 6 gave France a government which is preparing for a fascist dictatorship, but it failed to attain its second object. The working class did not retreat, the streets were not left in the hands of fascists. Not only was the onslaught of the revolutionary movement not stopped, but the French proletariat responded with a counter-attack of tremendous force to this attack of the fascists. And this tremendous force testifies to the unprecedented acceleration of the upsurge of revolutionary movement. In the face of disgraceful capitulation of the "democratic" parties and institutions of the bourgeoisie, the working class has proved to be the only force capable of repelling aggressive fascism and stopping its advance.

To prevent the development of this proletarian counter-offensive, French social-democracy and the leaders of reformist trade unions resorted to the most elaborate forms of treacherous maneuvers and "left" demagogic. From the very outset of the upsurge of the mass movement in connection with the Stavisky affair, they tried to quench the fire of indignation of the broad toiling masses and to disarm them in the face of the growing fascist danger. They declared it was only "a few unhealthy symptoms", and issued the slogan of defense of the bourgeois regime against those, who "are taking advantage" of the Stavisky affair. In its manifesto of February 6, the reformist General Confederation of Labor declared that "we will not allow anybody to take advantage of these scandals to attack the regime". Thus, the social-fascists tried to prevent the broad masses of the workers from participating in the growing movement of protest, and associated themselves with the "regime", with all its rottenness, swindling and pilfering.

At the same time the social-fascists made and are still making, feverish efforts to adapt their demagogic to the striving of the workers for a united front which has grown tenfold, and to the growing popularity of Soviets in the country. At the meeting of the socialists of Paris on February 1, Blum declared bombastically:

"Cost what it may, the Socialist Party will not allow the annihilation of the proletarian State." (*Populaire*, February 11, 1934.)

Farina, the secretary of the Paris organization of the Socialist Party went still further at a meeting of the Communist Party on February 19, when he said:

"We admit that the achievements of Soviet Russia are grandiose, and should serve as an example for all." (*Populaire*, February 20, 1934.)

The real value of the "solidarity" of the socialists with the U.S.S.R. may be seen from the fact that the socialist press, with the *Populaire* at its head preserved the silence of the grave about the Seventeenth Congress of the Party of builders of socialism, which even the bourgeois press could not afford to ignore. At the moment when the idea of Soviet Power is becoming the fighting call of the broad masses, Messrs. the social-fascists are ready to say that the U.S.S.R. serves as "an example to all", but they refuse to inform the workers even about the bare historical facts regarding the victory of socialism in the land of the Soviets, which would enable the workers to follow the example of the victorious proletariat of the October revolution.

Pretending to be ardent "supporters" of the Soviet Union the social-fascists wanted to impose a "pact of non-aggression" upon the Communist Party in

order to be able to continue their treacherous policy with impunity. The very leaders who only yesterday zealously expelled those who took part in the anti-war and anti-fascist committees now come forward in the role of enthusiastic supporters of "unity of action". Writing in *Populaire* of February 11, 1934, Blum wrote:

"Unity of the toilers, organic unity, unity of action—such are the means of salvation for the Republic of Soviets as well as for the French Republic."

In clutching at the slogan of "unity of action", the French Social-Democrats are striving to take the lead of the unrestrainable mass movement towards the creation of a united front, in order to deprive it of its class content and to divert it to the defense of the "French Republic" which is now becoming fascized.

The treachery of the social-democrats in February is best of all revealed by their noisy phrases about the "united action" of the toilers.

The behavior of all the factions of social-fascism was dictated by their desire to disrupt the militant class demonstrations of the toiling masses and to divert them into the channels of defense of the republic headed by the government of "national unity". Speaking in the Chamber of Deputies, the neo-socialist Montaignon said with cynical frankness:

"For us, the Socialist Party, there is only one program at the present moment, and that is to avoid chaos at all costs. We do not think the principles of the class struggle are suitable today." (*Debate Parlementaires*, February 15, 1934.)

The "Marxist" Paul Faure, the official representative of the "French section of Socialist International" expresses the same idea, but with a far greater sentimentality. In an interview with the correspondent of the *Petit Parisien*, he said:

"We are like children at the bedside of their sick mother. The republic, the regime, is in danger."

Indeed, the socialists are doing all they can to enable the grievously sick bourgeois republic to enjoy the treatment of Tardieu and Petin, to help it to rise on fascist crutches.

They tried to restrain the workers from demonstrating in the streets against the fascists, and tried to pacify them only a few hours prior to street battles with the news that the "Daladier government was determined to preserve order" (The streamer in the *Populaire* of February 9), and urged the socialist workers to spend that evening in the premises of

socialist organizations. They camouflaged these tactics of organized passivity by noisy phrases about "mobilizing the Party" and by hypocritically shouting: "All power to the toilers." It is true that, pressed by the outburst of mass indignation which was aroused by the fascist attack, the socialists did change their tactics next day. They adopted a whole avalanche of "left" maneuvers. The socialist leaders, who, according to neo-socialist Deat, "preferred to remain at home, trembling with fright" (*La Vie Socialiste*, February 10, 1934) invited the Communist Party to open up negotiations with a view to a truce between the proletarian organizations and to joint activity. They appealed to the workers to organize an anti-fascist demonstration on February 9. Under the pressure of the unitary trade unions, who invited the reformist organizations jointly to organize a general strike, the reformist C.G.T. itself declared this strike for February 12.

However, the object of all these "left" gestures of the social-fascists was first and foremost to gain time for the bourgeoisie; to secure a peaceful transition to the government of "national unity and to the new stage of accelerated preparation for an open fascist dictatorship. It is certainly no accident that the neo-socialists were among the first to put forth the slogan for the benefit of the bourgeoisie, that was becoming fascist, demanding "conciliation of factions and parties for the defense of the republic, and the formation of the government of public salvation." The neo-socialist Marquet joined this government which contained the fascist Tardieu and Marshal Petin. And he did so, not only with the consent of his group, but also with the diplomatically veiled blessing of the C.G.T. Deat relates that:

"Negotiations have taken place between Marquet and Rue Lafayette (the headquarters of the C.G.T.) and although no approval was given, it was felt that despite everything, it was preferable on the eve of the general strike to deal with Marquet, than with anybody else." (*La Vie Socialiste*, February 10, 1934.)

Jouhaux, the leaders of the reformist C.G.T., and Blum, the leader of the "irreconcilable" faction of social-fascism, did not lose the opportunity to visit Doumerge in order to come to an agreement with him about adapting their actions to the general course of the government of "national unity". And Jouhaux, speaking of the results of these negotiations, said:

"We do not want to add any more disorders to those, the authors of which have exposed themselves; what we want is not street demonstrations but firm and cool determination of the toilers to bar the way of the rebels." (*Populaire*, February 10, 1934.)

The result was that the socialists hastened to call off their demonstrations, fixed for February 9, and in general did everything they could to sabotage the anti-fascist activities on the pretext of timing all the activities for the moment of general strike. They particularly sabotaged the revolutionary demonstration of the Communist Party of February 9. Socialist leaders who played the role of the knights of "proletarian unity", pretended to be deaf to the appeal of the Communist Party to local socialist organizations to take part in joint demonstrations.

Under pressure of the rapidly growing mass movement and of the growing influence of the Communist Party, the social fascists could not avoid the calling of the general strike on February 12. But they wanted to direct it into the channel of "defense of the republic," and to tone down its proletarian class character, to carry it out in a peaceful, harmless and non-revolutionary manner, and to give it the character of a "fold arms" strike. The leaders of the Socialist Party and of the reformist trade unions who were opposed to joint demonstrations with the Communists, tried to draw the Radical-Socialist Party into the work of organizing the general strike,—the very party which only a few days before when in power had shamefully refused to fight against fascism, and established a united front with the most sinister representatives of fascism and reaction. The C.G.T. tried to place itself at the head of the general strike, not for the purpose of turning it against the united front of the bourgeoisie, but in order to subordinate the proletariat to this united bourgeois front. In order to restrict the general strike and to break its revolutionary character, the reformists sabotaged the strike on the railways and reduced it to a one-minute suspension of traffic and to a 15-minute stoppage on all other services. The Unitary Railwaymen's Union sent a special deputation to the reformist union to summon them to the carrying out of the strike, but in vain, with the greatest cynicism Jarigon, the leader of the reformist railwaymen's union, said:

"A general strike of the C.G.T. is not a political strike. We refuse to fight against any government, as our only object is to defend the rights of the trade unions."

The reformist leaders succeeded in disrupting the strike on the railways on February 12, but they failed to deprive the general strike of its proletarian, revolutionary character. In the battles of the last few weeks the French proletariat has shown that, despite the considerable organizational force of the reformist and socialist organizations, their ideological and political influence is no longer adequate to stifle the voice of the Communist vanguard and to check the masses of the proletariat who are eager to fight.

The experience of Germany—regarding the results of the policy of the lesser evil—had greatly increased the distrust of the French working masses towards the socialists' policy of "defending democracy." The experience of the French proletariat itself acquired during the recent events has still more convinced the workers, despite all the "left" phrases of the socialists, that Social-Democracy is neither capable of nor willing to wage a real struggle against the fascist forces, not only for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, but even for the most elementary "democratic" rights, even for the defense of the most day to day gains of the working class. The reformist and socialist workers vigorously protest against the sabotage of revolutionary activities. This protest is expressed in the resolution adopted by the reformist railwaymen's union in Bretagne, as a protest against the disruption of the general strike on the railways by the reformists. This resolution reads, in part, as follows:

"We will not pay trade union dues until we are given a reasonable explanation of the policy of the trade union leadership. The position adopted by the trade union leadership is reduced to the efforts to comply with the desires of the bourgeoisie and to admit the establishment of the vilest regime of fascism in our country."

The lower socialist strata not only participated in thousands in the Communist demonstrations, but in their local organizations they, in scores of cases, organized a united front with the Communists on the revolutionary platform of struggle against the bourgeois regime and the fascist forces created by it.

An appeal to form a united front for the general strike, issued jointly by the Regional Committee of the Communist Party and the Socialist section of the 20th District of Paris, reads as follows:

"We declare that we do not call upon the workers to make a 'peaceful protest' in defense of the bourgeois republic. We decided to fight against this policy of the lesser evil, which in Germany resulted in the advent of fascism."

The Socialist workers are coming to the conclusion that it is necessary to wage a revolutionary struggle, while the social fascist leaders, on the contrary, hold that it is necessary to adapt the movement still more to fascist tendencies. For example, Leon Blum argues as follows:

"Perhaps in the long run, the parliamentary regime in its traditional form is no longer able to satisfy the progressive and necessary development of the conception of state."

The socialist leader is seeking a way out—by enlarging the powers of the bourgeois state, in its fur-

ther fascization. The socialist workers are seeking a way out in the opposite direction, they are beginning to come out on the streets under the slogan: "Long Live the Soviets."

If in the face of the fascist onslaught the proletariat proved to be the only force able to repel fascism, then the Communist Party of France, at this difficult moment when the workers have entered into the struggle, proved to be the only organization that succeeded in giving a class direction and revolutionary leadership to the working class. The Communist Party of France has had to act in such a complicated and strained situation for the first time; but on the basis of its generally correct line, it succeeded at the decisive moment in placing itself at the head of the growing mass movement, and in guiding it, under its revolutionary slogans, to the channel of a powerful class counter-offensive. It was the Communist Party alone that mobilized the masses against the radical governments, which were paving the way for fascist forces; it was the Communist Party alone that exposed to the masses the hypocrisy of the "democracy" and "leftism" of the Daladier government. However, in the period immediately preceding the fascist attack of February 6, the French Communist Party to a certain extent underestimated the sporadic intensification of the political situation, the upsurge of the mass movement on the one hand, and the growth of fascist forces, on the other. Because of this underestimation, the Party press revealed a mistaken tendency to confine the struggle against fascism to a mere ideological struggle, obviously underestimating the importance of anti-fascist demonstrations in the streets. On February 6, the day of the fascist attack, it was the Communist Party alone that called upon the workers to demonstrate against the fascists. But the effects of its underestimation of the acuteness of the political situation were felt also in the insufficient preparation and concentration of the demonstrations it organized. The result was that instead of acting in serried anti-fascist ranks, the proletarian counter-demonstrators in many cases got mixed up with the fascist crowd. It was also this underestimation of the fascist forces that prevented the Party from changing front with the necessary quickness, at the moment when the forces of fascism grew bold, took the offensive and gained the upper hand over the cowardly Daladier government. Instead of turning its front against the attacking fascists and simultaneously ruthlessly exposing the assistance rendered in the "victory" of the fascists by the "left" government, the French Communist Party continued for some time to concentrate its attention on the struggle against the measures and the Ministers of the capitulating government and failed to stress sufficiently its helplessness and capitulative tendency before the fascist attack.

Nevertheless, after February 6, the French Communist Party succeeded in nearly overcoming all these shortcomings in the course of the struggle. The Communist Party organizations in Paris and in the majority of the cities in the provinces were at the head of the militant anti-fascist demonstrations of February 7 and 8. In the face of the feverish efforts of the socialists and reformist leaders to disarm the proletariat and to prevent its revolutionary activities the Communist Party prepared, organized and guided the powerful revolutionary demonstration of Paris workers on February 9. The unitary trade unions took the initiative in the preparations for the general strike. Having skillfully taken advantage of the fact that the reformist C.G.T. was forced to declare a general strike, they ensured its militant realization on the basis of a united front. The slogans of the Communist Party—"Put Chiappe in prison", "Disarm and dissolve the fascist organizations", "Down with the government of national unity", "Long Live the Soviets"—were adopted by the broadest masses and inflicted a severe defeat upon the socialist slogans demanding "democracy and freedom." The success of the proletarian counter-offensive was mostly due to the correct application of the tactics of the united front by the Communist Party. Having exposed the hypocritical maneuvers of the socialists who tried to force upon the Communist Party protracted diplomatic negotiations for a "truce" in order to shackle its forces and to thwart the desire of the masses for unity of action, the Communist Party of France from the very outset consistently organized joint activity and co-ordinated actions with socialist and reformist workers. In its manifesto of February 7, the Communist Party, in exposing the socialist unity maneuvers, invited all unitary and communist organizations:

"Immediately, without delay, to establish contact with the lower organizations of the General Confederation of Labor and of the Socialist Party with a view to immediately organizing demonstrations, strikes and all activities necessary for the defense of the proletariat."

In organizing the demonstration of February 9, the Communist Party once more appealed to the regional organizations and the nuclei of the Communist Party:

"To make an official proposal to every socialist section to organize a joint demonstration on Wednesday and to organize a strike." (*Humanité*, February 9, 1934.)

The unitary trade unions likewise invited the reformist trade unions to jointly prepare for a general strike. The persistent activity of the Communist or-

ganizations carried out on such a basis among socialist workers resulted in the participation of many thousands of socialist workers in Communist demonstrations; it resulted in joint preparations with the lower organizations of the Socialist Party and of the reformist unions, of demonstrations and of the general strike in scores of regions and provincial towns, and in the issue of joint appeals for anti-fascist struggle. It should be added that with only a few exceptions all these joint activities were realized on the basis of revolutionary slogans.

The sharp intensification of class antagonisms, the feverish preparations of the Doumerge government for an open fascist dictatorship, the new upsurge of the mass movement confront the French Communist Party with great problems. It must exert every effort to thwart the attempts of the socialist and reformist leaders to stop the workers' counter-attacks on the plea that the series of big revolutionary demonstrations is now completed. By exposing before the masses the utter falsity of the social-fascist statement to the effect that the government of "National conciliation" is a barrier to the fascist dictatorship, by revealing to the masses the whole significance of the measures by which this government is preparing to abolish all the rights and gains of the working class and for the terrorist suppression of their movement, the French Communist Party will be able to further develop the counter-offensive of the toiling masses.

The whole Party must concentrate its efforts on fighting against this government of quartermasters of the fascist dictatorship; on preparing and organizing the mass proletarian demonstrations against every measure the government introduces against the toilers on the basis of their "Emergency Decrees." The Communist Party must oppose to this government of preparation for the fascist dictatorship and to its socialist henchmen—its full complete platform for a revolutionary way out of the crisis, the platform of measures that will be realized by the Soviet power on the morrow of its victory, measures in the interests of workers, the peasants, office employees and soldiers.

The Socialists are exerting every effort to divert the anti-fascist mass movement onto the lines of "defense of the republic", to the lines of electoral support for the followers of "democracy and liberty". The only way the French Communist Party can prevent this is to secure the utmost organizational consolidation of the ideological and political influence it has among the broad masses and which has grown so rapidly during the recent events. The Party, the unitary trade unions, and other revolutionary mass organizations can and must recruit into their ranks thousands and tens of thousands of the fighters who participated in the anti-fascist demonstrations and in

the general strike. But first and foremost, the Party must inculcate into the mind of every worker, and of every toiler, that there can be no successful struggle against the fascist forces without a strong united front, without revolutionary unity of action. The Communist Party can consolidate the results of the anti-fascist front, organize committees of anti-fascist action composed of the representatives of the broadest masses—first and foremost in the enterprises, in the trade unions, among the unemployed, in workers' houses and homes, in villages, everywhere the toilers live and work. While continuing its ruthless struggle against social-fascism—which is the principal obstacle to the successful struggle against fascism—and while exposing the social-fascist "unity" maneuvers, the Communist Party must extend and lead the united front of the broad masses of the toilers on the basis of the struggle for the everyday demands of the workers and on the basis of concrete preparations for and the organization and carrying through of mass actions against fascism. Notwithstanding all their declarations in favor of "united action", the social-fascists continue to do all they can to sabotage every step that is taken towards the united front, primarily in the factories, where the desire of the workers for direct unity, for the joint struggle against capital is particularly strong. Hence, the task of the Communists is to concentrate their efforts on fighting for the united front in the factories, and to create and strengthen united front committees in them.

The February days revealed the enormous political importance of work in the reformist trade unions. The hundreds of thousands of organized workers who took part in the February battles and who thus thwarted the sabotaging plans of the reformist bureaucrats are seeking the path of successful struggle against attacking fascism and against the rule of the capitalists. The Communist Party of France and the unitary trade unions can point this path out to the workers only if they exert every effort to assist and develop the work of the revolutionary trade union opposition in the reformist trade unions. In the struggles, the Party and the unitary trade unions closely approached socialist and reformist workers. They established systematic militant co-operation with them, through the medium of the united front committees. While continuing to develop the most intensive activity among the masses of socialist and reformist workers, the Communist Party of France and the unitary trade unions—particularly in places where militant co-operation assumed more solid organizational forms—can raise quite concretely the question of achieving trade union unity. Bearing in mind the experience of the recent battles and of the general strike, the Communist Party must pay serious attention to the weak spots of the movement. It must develop intensified activity among reformist,

Christian and unorganized railwaymen, among workers of several large machine-building and metallurgical enterprises, such as Renault Works, for example, where the reformists, or the employers succeeded in disrupting the general strike. The tasks now deserving the special attention of the Communist Party of France are: to overcome the lagging of the peasant movement, to intensify the struggle against the growing influence of fascist organizations and fascist ideology among petty-bourgeois masses.

In its first great battle against fascism, the French proletariat, with the French Communist Party at its head, displayed firm determination to put up revolutionary resistance to the introduction of a fascist dictatorship. But the government of the *Comitee des Forges* and of the General Staff is assiduously preparing for this dictatorship; fascist gangs are getting ready for new attacks.

The first battle will be followed by others, and even more bitter, decisive battles. The examples of Germany and Austria show that the proletariat cannot be victorious in these battles unless it creates an iron united front under the leadership of the vanguard of the working class. The Communist Party of France must now exert every effort to create, organize and place itself at the head of this revolutionary united front of the broadest toiling masses, which alone can crush fascism and proceed to the storming of capitalism.

"Demonstrations, which by their very nature and the sentiments of the enormous majority of the participants were by no means directed against the regime, but, on the contrary, were striving towards the real defense of the regime." (*Temps*, February 16, 1934.)

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